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THE
# CONTEMPORARY
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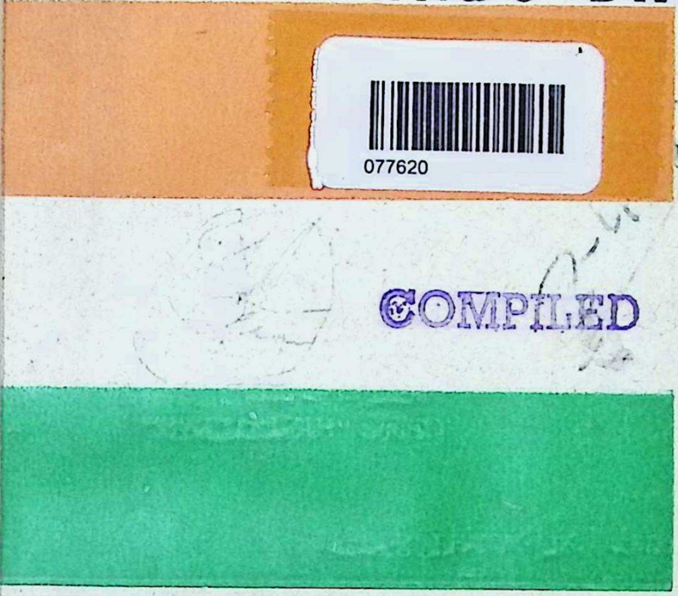
## LONG LIVE INDO-BANGLADESH FRIENDSHIP



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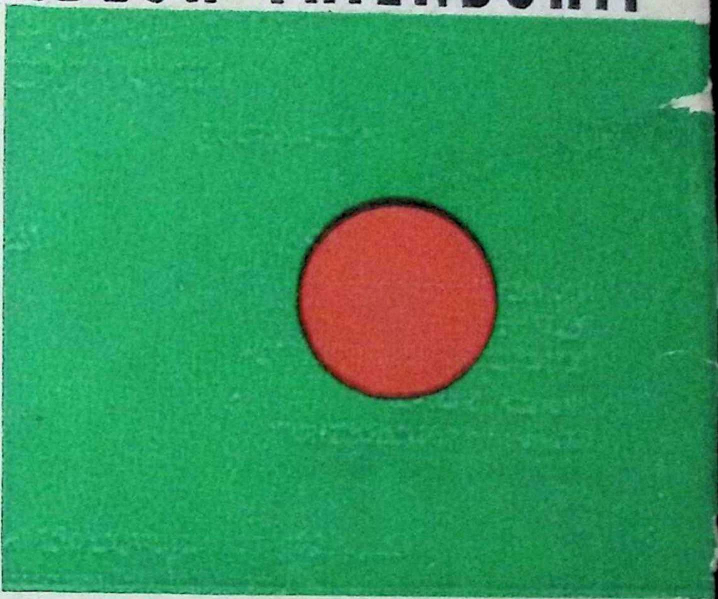

**If India had a glorious heritage, the Indian Nation to-day has created a new history of which the future generation will be proud of.**

—*Smt. Indira Gandhi*

* * *

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—*Lord Beveridge*

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# Voice of Great Men

The poor, the downtrodden, the ignorant, let these be your God. Our aristocratic ancestors went on treading the common masses of our country under foot, till they became helpless, till under this torment the poor, poor people nearly forgot that they were human beings.

Give to the weak, for there all the gift is needed. This is justice and reason as I understand it. Our poor people, these downtrodden masses of India, therefore, require to hear and to know what they really are. Aye, let every man and woman and child, without respect of caste of birth, weakness or strength, hear and learn that behind the strong and the weak, behind the high and the low, behind every-one, there is that infinite Soul, assuring the infinite possibility and the infinite capacity of all to become great and good.

*—Swami Vivekananda*

Nor does spirituality mean the moulding of the whole type of the national being to suit the limited dogmas, forms, tenets of a particular religion, as was often enough attempted by the old societies, an idea which still persists in many minds by the power of old mental habit and association ; clearly, such an attempt would be impossible, even if it were desirable, in a country full of the most diverse religious opinions and harbouring too three such distinct general forms as Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, to say nothing of the numerous special forms to which each of these has given birth. Spirituality is much wider than any particular religion, and in the larger ideas of it that are now coming on us even the greatest religion becomes no more than a broad sect or branch of the one universal religion ; by which we shall understand in the future man's seeking for the eternal, the divine, the greater self, the source of unity and his attempt to arrive at some equation, some increasing approximation of the values of human life with the eternal and the divine values.

*—Sri Aurobindo*

Our voyage begun, Captain, we bow to Thee.

The storm howls and the waves are wicked and wild,
but we sail on

The menace of danger waits in the way to yield to Thee
its offerings of pain, and a voice in the heart of the tempest cries ;
"Come to conquest fear !"

Let us not linger to look back for the laggards, or benumb
the quickening hours with dread and doubt.

For Thy time is our time and Thy burden is our own,
and life and death are but Thy breath playing upon
the eternal sea of life,

Let us not wear our hearts away picking small help and taking
slow count of friends,

Let us know more than all else that Thou art with us and we are
Thine for ever.

*—Rabindranath Tagore*

We should regard the humblest and lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. Isolated independence is not the goal of the World States. It is voluntary inter-dependence.

Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed.

My Hinduism is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Budhism and Zoroastrianism. Truth is my religion and ahimsa is the only way of its realisation.

We must do even unto this last as we would have the world do by us. All must have equal opportunity. Given the opportunity every human being has the same possibility for spiritual growth.

*—Mahatma Gandhi*

Capital created by the labour of the worker, crushes the worker, ruining small proprietors and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is immediately apparent, but the same phenomenon is also to be observed in agriculture, where the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture is enhanced, the use of machinery increases and the peasant economy. trapped by money-capital declines and falls into ruin under the burden of its backward technique. The decline of small-scale production assumes different forms in agriculture, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labour and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a regular economic organism—but the product of this collective labour is appropriated by a handful of capitalists.

*—Lenin*

Aim of democracy is the good life for each individual. What form it should take can be argued about, but the good life certainly must imply a certain satisfaction of the essential economic needs which will release him from continuous oppression and which will give him a chance to develop his creative faculties.

I want work and work and work. I want achievement. I want men who work as crusaders. I want men who are going to fight for what they think is right and not submit humbly to wrong. I want you to do big things. I want you to build up India. Can you conceive of a bigger thing than to build up this immense country of ours ?

*—Jawaharlal Nehrn*

Our revolution will end only with the ushering in of a New order based on justice and truth, a regime in which every Indian will get his birthright.

Our aim is that in Free India, every Indian whatever his religion or language may be, must have the same right. Everyone who calls himself an Indian and who lives in India must have equal facilities of food, clothing and education. We seek to realise an India with an administration which will provide this.

*—Netaji*

It must be realised that economic progress must be accompained by social justice. Without social justice economic progress does not help the people of the country and those who do not get justice become dissatisfied and frustrated.

India has disproved many of the conceptions of the western countries which thought independence could not be achieved by non-violence, planning would not succeed in our country, democracy would not survive in a country where people are illiterate. I am confident that if the country persues correct policies and goes ahead with self confidence and unity, the revolution for which we are working will definitely come.

*—Smt. Indira Gandhi*

# *Editorial*

## BANGLA DESH

The emergence of Bangladesh on 26th March, 1971 as a sovereign and free country on the bedrock foundation of the principles of democracy, secularism, nationalism and socialism heralded the dawn of a new era not only in the Indian subcontinent but also the whole of Asia and Africa. The liberation of the oppressed and exploited 75 million people of Bangladesh from the inhuman tyranny and exploitation of the Pak rulers, the hencemen of the mighty neoimperialists, hurled a severe blow to the global strategy of the imperialist camp and opened up a glorious chapter in the annals of the subcontinent.

This spirit of "Do or Die" ignited the fire of revolution in every home of Bangladesh to rise in revolt to a man to smash the colonial chain of slavery. The revolutionary upsurge of the unarmed youths, students, labourers and peasants stirred up by the heroic leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman created an unique history in the world by breaking open the shackles of the fascist rulers.

On this historic occasion of the anniversary of Bangladesh independence we join with the people of Bangladesh in paying our respectful homage to the memory of the revolutionary patriots of Bangladesh and the heroic Indian jawans who laid down their precious lives for the cause of freedom, democracy and justice.

The magical spell of Mujibur Rahman's unique leadership coupled with the heroic measures of Smt. Indira Gandhi dawned a new age of liberty, secularism, democracy and socialism for the entire 75 million people of Bangladesh. A revolutionary Bengalee race has emergad out of the unprecedented blood—bath of more than three million people. The sun of freedom is sure to wipe away the last vestige of darkness that enveloped the horizon of Bangladesh so long.

The inhuman oppression of the Pakistan military junta and naked exploitation by the Pakistan monopolists pushed 75 million people of Bangladesh to the last ditch. Since that dreadful night of 25th March 1971 the brutal hordes of Pak rulers with the colossal aid of USA and China launched planned murder of millions of unarmed people, raping on women on a mass scale and ruthless devastation of the towns, villages, roads, bridges and other communications, industries, Tea gardens, agricultural fields, steamers, launches, trucks, country-boats, buses, motors, fishing boats and nets and more than 5 lakhs cattles. The entire economy of Bangladesh was totally ruined by the Pak troops.

The Government of India under the bold leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi ordered Indian army to march into Bangladesh to save the suffering people from the inhuman oppression of the Pak troops, when 10 million evacuees were pushed out forcefully to take shelter into Indian territory. In spite of colossal arms aid of US and China about one lakh pak troops had to surrender to the joint command of the Indian army and Bangladesh liberation forces. On the historic 16th December 1971, the grim struggle for the freedom of Bangladesh after long 9½ months' relentless fight, was crowned with victory.

The neoimperialist conspiracy miserably failed to put the clock back. No power however mighty can change the course of history. The people of free Bangladesh inspired by the ideal of the principles of socialism, democracy, secularism and nationalism as set forth by their beloved leader Mujibur Rahman are sure to liquidate the dark forces of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and diesease.

Liberated Bangladesh has set up an unique record by adopting the new Constitution within one year from the historic day of victory against Pak aggressors. The splendid victory of Sheikh Mujbur Rahman's party in the general election has shown to the world what a magnetic influence he has got over the entire people of Bangladesh. As Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's magnificent leadership has enthused entire 75 million people of Bangladesh with a revolutionary spirit, his unique guidance is sure to steer Bangladesh clear of all storms and stresses she is facing even to-day In spite of the frantic manoeuvring of the neoimperialists and their hencemen to put spokes in the wheel of progress of Bangladesh, the success of Bangladesh people in their determined struggle against poverty, unemployment and exploitation of man by man is a certainty.

Bangladesh under the magnificent stewardship of Mujibur Rahman will create far reaching revolutionary impact in the international horizon by strengthening the forces of socialism and peace in the world.

The revolutionary people of Bangladesh under the dynamic leadership of Mujibur Rahman are sure to build up "Sonar Bangla" as was visualised by the great seer and world poet Rabindranath Tagore.

---

## II

## WORLD PEACE

Lasting peace in the world is essential for the development and progress of the entire people of the world by wiping out poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition and disease from the face of the earth. The spectacular development of science and technology has opened up the flood-gates of prosperity and happiness to the entire mankind. But the irony of fate is that the modern science and technology are being utilised by a handful people of vested interests to satisfy their abnormal greed for power and wealth by nakedly exploiting the underdeveloped and impoverished people of the globe. The rulers of the so-called civilised and developed countries are gradually increasing abnormally their defence budget for manufacturing deadly armaments of human destruction. The people at the helm of advanced Western countries are still following the cult of the primitive age when man used to suck the blood and devour the flesh of man. To-day even in this fag end of the 20th century, the ruling cliques of powerful countries carry on war-mongering policy to keep the weak countries under their hegemony for economic exploitation. The mighty powers start military aggression against the weaker countries on one pretext or another and carry on barbarous devastation.

No doubt the forces of peace are gaining strength from day to day. The movement for lasting peace has received new momentum on the finalisation of the peace agreement between US and North Vietnam. But unfortunately fierce fighting is still being conducted by Mr. Thieu, the President of South Vietnam with the colossal aid and guidance of the US rulers.

The global strategy of the neo-imperialists is to keep war tension in different parts of the world in order to step up the huge profit through the sale of heavy armaments. The pressure of world opinion, the indomitable heroism and unparalleled sacrifice of the brave Vietnamese forced indeed the US rulers to sign the peace agreement.

But the war-mongers are hatching a sinister plan to stir up again warfare in the Middle East. The neo-imperialists want to exploit the oil resources of the Middle East countries. Israel on the one side and Iran, Soudi Arabia and Jordon on the other are playing as the tools of the neo-imperialists for maintaining war tension in that region. But the expansionist designs of Israel has received a great set-back by the detente in the European continent and the retreat of USA army from North Vietnam as well as the growing unity of the Arab states.

The powerful movement for peace in Europe under the initiative of USSR has brought about a change of outlook about the Middle East problem in the West European countries. They have been undergoing heavy losses due to the closure of the Suez Canal and they are not prepared to face any fresh conflagaration in the Middle East which may affect security and peace of the

European countries. Israel has miserably failed to win the support of the African countries except the racist South Africa and Rhodesia. The newly free countries of Africa have united to fight against imperialism and racialism. The aggressive designs of the racist rulers of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese have received strong rebuff from the united strength of the newly free countries of Africa.

The neo-imperialists are arming again Pakistan to the teeth by despatching large quantity of arms through their satellite countries. The crushing defeat of Pak army equipped with modern arms of US and China in 1971 and the emergence of Bangladesh as a free and sovereign country dealt a severe blow to the imperialist camp. The Simla peace agreement under the initiative of Smt. Indira Gandhi totally unnerved the imperialists. The global strategy of the US rulers is to keep up war tension in this sub-continent and not to allow peaceful relation to grow between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. General Tikka Khan, the inhuman butcher of 3 million people of Bangladesh is receiving aid of the imperialists to rearm his newly recruited large army for unleashing fresh onslaught. Although a sinister conspiracy has been hatched by the imperialists and their lackeys to stir up a new conflagration in different parts of Asia and Africa, the forces of peace are day to day gaining strength in Asia and Africa with the support and help of the socialist countries.

It is really very unfortunate that China is not strengthening the peace camp. On the contrary Chinese Prime Minister appealed to the US rulers not to withdraw their troops from Asia culminating in the imbalance of power.

The recent visit of General Tikka Khan to Peking bypassing President Bhutto is very ominous. The patronage of the Chinese rulers to General Tikka Khan is a matter of grave concern. Pakistan's C in C is now visiting some of the countries of the Middle East who are hand in glove with us. His desperate endeavour is to get all-out US help through its satellite countries. The US rulers were not prepared to extend arms aid to Pakistan directly. The tactics has now been changed. The latest strategy is to interlink Pakistan, Iran, Soudi Arabia, Jordon, Turkey and Israel into a block to carry on the neo-imperialist policy of maintaining war-tension in this region.

But the growing unity of the democratic forces in the Middle East and the awakening of the suffering people of these satellite countries of neo-imperialist powers, have developed a momentum to foil the imperialist conspiracy. The aggressive policy of the US rulers have been thwarted by the awakened people of Latin America under the inspiration of the heroic people of Cuba. The US expansionist policy in Latin America has got to be revised now.

The democratic forces of Japan have raised their voice against the US military bases in different parts of Japan The trade competition between Japan and USA coupled with the dollar crisis as well as growing strength of the progressive forces in the Japanese Parliament will surely pressurise the US rulers to withdraw their military bases from Japan.

New design of the imperialist powers to control the Indian ocean by setting up different naval bases should be resisted by all Asian countries in the interest of peace in this region.

The deepening currency crisis in the developed capitalist countries of the world clearly indicates that complete disarmament is urgently needed to stop the mad race for the manufacture of horrible weapons of human destruction.

The colossal waste of the world's resources in increasing defence budget of every country culminating in the unparalleled sufferings of the common people should dawn better sense in the people at the helm of affairs of these developed countries. They should bear in mind that lasting peace is essential for the prosperity, happiness and progress of mankind.

# comments...

## BUDGET

In the face of food shortage due to unusual drought and insufficient growth rate of production in the industry during 1972, Shri Y.B. Chavan, the finance minister tried his best to place a budget for 1973-74 as "a major instrument for the realisation of basic social and economic objectives" by creditably reducing the deficit to 85 crores only, which was 550 crores in 1972-73. He has however admitted that deficit shall have to be increased to meet the decisions of the Pay Commission's report. The finance minister no doubt has taken up a progressive step to interlink agricultural income with non-farm income for taxation purpose. He has made special provision of Rs. 100 crores for arranging 5 lakh additional jobs for the educated unemployed. But he has not been able to allocate extra funds for the removal of illiteracy, large scale housing programme both urban and rural, arrangement of water supply in the rural areas and opening of health centres in the villages. The total plan outlay in 1973-74 will be Rs. 4355 crores which could be increased if the finance minister realised more revenue from the corporate sector. The concessions given to the big industrialists will step up further concentration of the economic resources which is against the declared policy of the government. The incentives to the affluent section have boosted the share market which indicates clearly that the private corporate sector including large industrial houses will reap the benefit greatly of the budget concessions while the government of India adopted a bill against the growth of monopolism some days back. The budgetary concessions will boost now the Indian private sector. The budget has no provision to check the price-rise by curbing black money and imposing expenditure tax.

The taxation on motor spirit, electrical goods, increase of Railway fare and freight, stainless steel and cinematographic films will hit the middle and lower income group. The price index is bound to soar up.

As the value of rupee has been reduced abnormally during the last 25 years the middle income group with an annual income of Rs. 12000/- should have been relieved of taxation. Even during the pre-independence days income upto Rs. 2000/- was free from taxation, which is today equivalent to approximately Rs. 16000/-. As the cost of living is rising the middle income and the low income group people are unable to meet both ends. The concessions for the growth of the rich will aggravate further the sufferings of the common people.

No doubt Shri Chavan being a radical thinker and socialist has boldly extended the taxation net upon the agricultural sector. If he could take more courageous measure he could find 2 to 3 thousand crores of rupees more revenue from the agricultural and industrial sector to meet the urgent needs of social welfare. But as fiscal policy is based on the principles of mixed economy the finance minister's scope of placing a radical budget for the liquidation of poverty and unemployment altogether is limited. When the entire capitalist world is facing deepening economic crisis, price-rise and inflation the finance minister cannot save us from inflation and price-rise so long our economy is not completely transformed scientifically.

## RISE OF REACTIONARY FORCES

The anti-national reactionary forces are raising their ugly heads again in different parts of India with the plan and colossal aid of the enemies of the country, to stem the tide of India's speedy development and progress. The united front of right reaction is taking shape to launch severe onslaught against the forces of democracy, socialism, secularism and peace. Under the magnificent stewardship of Smt. Gandhi India has been making considerable progress both political and economic. Her bold anti-imperialist and antifascist stand regarding Bangladesh liberation struggle, Vietnam fight, Israeli aggression and the freedom struggle of other countries, has unnerved Washington to such an extent that they have decided to renew arms supply to Pakistan to scuttle the Simla Peace agreement as well as to utilise Pakistan as a military base. The new US strategy is to set up the umbrella of defence over Pakistan which will be of immense help in establishing its sphere of influence in the Indian subcontinent, the Indian ocean and the Middle East.

The neoimperialist design on the one hand is to boost an united front of all anti-democratic reactionary forces for stirring up turmoil within India on the issue of linguism, regionalism, and communalism by taking up the advantage of price-rise and food shortage while the other part of the plan is to rearm Pakistan to the teeth for unleashing again military aggression against India. The dynamic leadership of Smt. Gandhi to build up self-sufficient and prosperous India on the foundation of the democratic and socialist principles has shaken up the neo-imperialist camp. The imperialists will make all-out attempt to manoeuvre onslaught against India both from within and outside.

The sinister conspiracy to put a brake to India's economic development has been clearly manifested in the anti-democratic disturbances in Andhra, Assam, U.P., Orissa, West Bengal, Mizo, Nagaland, and Manipur. The anti-national forces are being mobilised to create chaos and disorder throughout India exploiting the discontent of the people due to soaring price-rise and food scarcity. Unfortunately the group fighting in the Congress for power is weakening the organisation. The democratic forces in the country have not yet taken up any initiative to launch effective movement unitedly to counteract these growing anti-national fissiparous tendencies.

It is high time that the Congress should unite all patriotic progressive elements in the country to carry on vigorous movement against the machination of the antidemocratic forces of vested interests patronised by the neoimperialist agencies. As the united strength of the Indian people under the heroic leadership of Smt. Gandhi inflicted crushing defeat to the Pak army equipped with US and Chinese armaments, the unity of the people has now become the main target of attack. The lessons of Indian history also clearly bear out the fact that the foreigners conquered India not by the strength of arms but by exploiting the lack of unity among the Indians.

It must be brought home to the people that the national solidarity is essential for the country's security, economic development and progress. The masses must be made conscious about the urgency of the unity of the people to struggle effectively for the liquidation of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and backwardness.

In this critical situation when India is facing deepening economic crisis, soaring inflation, price-rise, food-shortage due to unusual drought and population explosion, pressure of the international monetary crisis and fresh onslaught of the neoimperialist game of power-politics to expand its sphere of influence, it is the imperative task of the dedicated democratic and socialist forces to rise to the occasion unitedly to mobilise the entire suffering people for frustrating the sinister game of the neoimperialists and their hencemen. India is facing to-day both internal and external onslaught.

## PRICE-RISE

The spiralling price-rise of the essential necessaries of life has been deepening the economic crisis more and more from day to day. The soaring cost of living is pushing the common people out of gear. More than fifty per cent population of India who are still below the poverty line can not even afford to get two morsels a day. The middle income people are also facing unusual sufferings.

No doubt the decision of the government of India to take over entire procurement of foodgrains, if implemented properly, is sure to bring down the price level of the food items to the great relief of the people at large.

The budget's deficit of Rs. 250/- crores as envisaged by the finance Minister, is likely to step up the price level further. The evil effects of inflation can be counteracted effectively by increasing production in the field and factory. All-out efforts should be made by the government and the people to step up production in both sectors.

The continuous inflation coupled with the colossal amount of black money have been skyrocketting the price structure. Effective measures must be taken up by the government without delay to wipe out the black money exceeding the total amount of white currency, if the country is to move towards socialism. Demonetization is a positive measure to cut to size the vast amount of black money which is causing acute hardship to the people.

As the capitalist economy has received a long lease of life in our country through the loopholes of our democratic system a capitalist modus operandi may be adopted to harness the colossal black money for the speedy industrial and agricultural development. If the govt. imposes tax on the profit only and not on the invested capital then more than 90% of the vast amount of black money is likely to come out in the open to be invested in industry, housing, roads, irrigation and town development projects. The black money of the Indian monopolists in the foreign countries may be also ultilised by the govt. to strengthen the country's foreign exchange position.

It is indeed a proceedure by which some of the capitalist countries have been amply benefitted with capitalistic mode of growth. But if we mean seriously to transform our economy into real socialist one, then we should lose no time to eliminate monopolism and black money completely and to move towards the socialist goal for liquidating hunger, poverty, unemployment and price-rise altogether.

## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS

The trade rivalry between US and West European countries and Japan has sharpened the monetary crisis in the capitalist countries. The inherent contradiction of the capitalist economy has deepened the currency crisis in the international market.

The colossal deficit balance of payments of US during the last 5 consecutive years causing spiralling inflation and soaring price level, was the result of the abnormal US defence budget for conducting military aggression in Indo-China and the world strategy of maintaining the military bases in different countries of the world. The US rulers devalued dollar first in December 1971 to ward off the crisis. The periodic crisis of overproduction added with military and political aggressive policy coupled with colossal adverse balance of payments of 6,400 million dollars have brought about the unprecedented crisis of dollar in the international market. In spite of desperate attempts the US rulers failed to persuade West Germany and Japan to readjust their currency standard in the interest of dollar. The US plan to consolidate the financial domination of the Wall Street in the capitalist word has miserably failed due to the bold stand of Japan and West Germany.

The plan submitted in the Paris meeting of the committee of the 20 by the US Under Secretary of the Treasury, Paul A. Volcker, as the solution of the monetary crisis was not accepted by other countries. The EEC countries designed a new device to save their economy from the onslaught of dollar. But the floating of the British pound and the crisis of Italian lira stood in the way of united front of the EEC countries against dollar domination.

The dollar has become cheaper by 20% due to devaluation which has brought down United State's foreign debt by 7000-8000 million dollar as well as reduced dollar reserves in other countries. The economic strategy of USA is to pressurise other capitalist countries to accept their economic terms. But this economic plan of the US rulers will sharpen further the growing contradiction between USA and Japan and other Western capitalist countries. The US design to save dollar will cause price rise in Western Europe and Japan, which will hardly affect the common people. The price of gold is going up abnormally. The mad race for gold will bring about instability of dollar and and other currencies of the capitalist countries. The leaders at the helm of affairs of these developed countries should probe deeply for the real cause of these acute malady which has been periodically affecting their economy. They should find out a scientific solution of this chronic crisis. The spectacular development of science and technology demands complete transformation of the present economic system on scientific basis.

## DEFEAT OF THE RACISTS

The bold anti-racist stand of the representatives of USSR, India, Ghana, Keneya, Senegeal, Algeria, Yugoslavia, Egypt and Chile in condemning Rhodesia's aggression against Zambia, during the Security Council debate has forced the racists to stop their aggressive measures. The USSR representative called upon the Security Council to take suitable action also against South Africa and Portugal.

A resolutiion against the economic blockade and military aggression upon Zambia by Rhodesia and other South African racist rulers was taken up by the Security Council. The pressure of world opinion forced the racist rulers of Rhodesia and South Africa to retreat. The racists have realised that the days of military aggression against weaker nations are no more.

## AFRICAN UNITY

We warmly hail the growing unity of the African people, which has found expression through the organisation of African unity. The delegates of all newly free countries of Africa attended the 20th session of the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa on February 5 to 10. The decision of Ministerial Council to give all-out help, economic, political and military to Zambia has indeed strengthened the antiracist movement. The declaration of solidarity and support for the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau as well as the people's struggle of Zambabwe, Mozambique, Angola, and Namibia has given a new impetus to the freedom struggle of the people of Africa. The suffering impoverished people of Africa have awakened against the naked exploitation and barbarous oppression of the imperialists and racists. The liberation struggle of the African people demands all-out support from all freedom loving people of the world. The victory of the African people's struggle for their liberty from the shackles of imperialism and racism is a certainty.

## LATIN AMERICAN UNITY

The aggressive policy of US imperialism has stirred up a new awakening among the suffering people of Latin America to take up a bold stand unitedly against the imperialist aggression of the US rulers. The Indian Development Corporation whose original members are Peru, Chile, Colombia, Bolivia and Ecuador have admitted Venozuela as member on February 13. The Venezuela Government broke off trade agreement of 1939 with USA in the beginning of 1972, which established special relation with Washington. The admission of Venezuela into the Andian group has inflicted a severe blow to the imperialist camp.

The growing unity of the Latin American people both political and economic in fighting the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists is warmly welcomed by all freedom loving people of the world.

## URUGUAYAN DEVELOPMENT

Uruguay, one of the most peaceful State of Latin America, is facing today a social upheaval due to deepening economic crisis. Mr. Bordaberry, the President made an attempt to suppress the people's upsurge with the help of the army. As the administrative machinery failed to cope with the organised movement of the strikers, demonstrators and the urban guerillas, the President entrusted the army to control the situation.

The struggle of the people for their economic emancipation from the exploitation of the monopolists and privileged people inspired the army people also to take up a bold stand against the President's rule. They have joined hands with the suffering people of

Uruguay in demanding an agrarian reform, stricter, public control over the means of production, workers share in the management of industrial concerns, curtailing of the monopolists and equitable distribution of the national income. The combined pressure of the people and the army forced the President to accept all these demands.

The developments in Uruguay are the manifestations of a new awakening among the entire people of Latin America for the attainment of real freedom and democratic rights.

## AWAKENING OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE IN AFRICA

A new consciousness for freedom and democratic rights has brought about a great awakening among the oppressed and exploited coloured people of South Africa. They have found a real leadership in the African National Congress. The National Congress of the black people is striving hard to unite the black people of South Africa to fight for their democratic rights. The black people's convention held at Hamanskraal 30 miles from Pretoria at the end of the last year gave a new lead to the black people for achieving their liberation from the chains of slavery. The bold attempt of the African National Congress to awaken Black Consciousness for the achievement of freedom from the white people's yoke of oppression and dehumanisation deserves wholehearted support from all freedom-loving people of the world.

The racist rulers have been pursuing a policy of inhuman genocide by setting up the 'Homelands', reservoirs of cheap labour on slave wages for the white farms and factories. These coloured labourers are treated by the white people as slaves to be utilised in developing their white economy. These unfortunate coloured people of South Africa are denied the basic human rights. The starving labourers in these 'Homelands' are being ruthlessly oppressed and exploited by the white people. They are not allowed to move out of these so-called concentration camps without pass. The coloured people are forced to serve as day labourers in the white people's industries and farms.

The inhuman racist oppression and exploitation of the coloured people in Africa should arouse the conscience of the civilised world for immediate intervention. The United Nations should lose no time to take up suitable measures to liquidate these barbarous racism.

## US GLOBAL STRATEGY

The world strategy of the US rulers is to engineer war-tension in different parts of the world in order to reap excessive profit through the sale of armaments manufactured on a huge scale by the topmost monopoly cartels of America. As the US economy has been transformed into war economy the war tension is urgently needed for their market.

The retreat of the US army from North Vietnam and Laos due to the heroic fight of the Vietnamese, has goaded the US rulers to choose one or two more centres in Asia for flaring up war-hysteria. The US imperialists have been receiving severe blow after blow since the liberation of Bangladesh. The emergence of Bangladesh and the crushing defeat of the Pak army pushed them out of balance. In spite of resorting to inhuman bombing upon Vietnam the US rulers were forced to withdraw their troops. The detente in Europe under the magnificent initiative of USSR has become a certainty. The military blocks manoeuvred by the US rulers are now facing liquidation. They have failed to engineer a large scale conflagration in the Middle East with their colossal aid to Israel. So they have turned their attention to extend arms aid to Pakistan rulers for scuttling the Simla Peace Agreement which paved the way for lasting peace in the subcontinent under the dynamic initiative of Smt. Indira Gandhi. The new strategy of US rulers is to interlink Pakistan, Iran, Jordon and Soudi Arabia under their hegemony for the building up of an anti-India and anti-Soviet block for perpetuating a psychosis of war in this region. President Bhutto has shaken off the camouflage of peace that he exhibited at Simla and started his rope dancing again in tune with the neoimperialists. The fate of Marshal Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan should have dawned better sense in Mr. Bhutto. He should bear in mind that the path of democracy and peace is the only way to save the suffering people of Pakistan as well as his Presidentship. The military jingoism which brought about the downfall of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan is sure to act as boomerang if he follows their dangerous footsteps.

India stands for peace with all the countries of the world and particularly with her neighbours. The unique peace offer of Smt. Indira Gandhi brought great relief to the entire people of this sub-continent. But the irony of fate is that the manoeuvring of the imperialists is vitiating again the political horizon of the subcontinent. The Pak rulers are again playing as tools in the imperialist game of power politics to stir up war-tension in the subcontinent. The bitter lessons of Bangladesh should have instilled more wisdom in president Bhutto. The US arms supply cannot save his presidential gaddi from the upsurge of the democratic forces of Paktoonistan, Beluchistan, Sind and West Punjab. He should lose no time to implement the Simla Peace Agreement and uphold the principles of democracy and peace to save his chair and suffering people of Pakistan. He should realise that the US imperialism is desperately attempting to find a solution of their deepening financial crisis by aggravating international tension, stepping up the arms drive and monoeuvring new war of aggression.

# 'One World, Non-Alignment And Our Problems'

*Smt. Indira Gandhi*

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY has always believed in one world. Since Independence, we are trying our utmost to work towards it. We know that in many ways the world is coming closer together through science and technology, through cultural exchanges and other efforts. But what we really mean by the one world is a feeling of brotherhood between the nations. Today with the power and knowledge which are in the hands of mankind and which are unfortunately still quite often used for destruction,it becomes all the more necessary that we try to create and strengthen these links of friendship between the nations. The realisation that we should help one another did not grow in India only after Independence. It was there even before Independence.

I should like to give two examples of India trying to help other countries even though we ourselves had no resources and were not independent. At the time of the Civil War in Spain, India (at that time it was not the Government of India, but the Congress Party) sent a medical mission to help the Government of Spain. Also around that time there was the war in China and again we sent a medical unity to China. I am merely pointing out that event at that time, absorbed as were in our own struggle for Independence and in our own difficulties, we were not unaware of the difficulties of others, and we felt that we had to show our concern and had to try and share the travails of other countries because, as we have so often said freedom and peace are indivisible.

So far as China is concerned in spite of many ups and downs in our relationship, our attitude has been the same. We were, I think, one of the very first Governments to recognise the present Government in Peking. After that we consistently worked and stood for the admission of China into the United Nations. Many people misunderstood our stand. We also had aggression from China on our soil but we never viewed our relationship with China in an opportunistic manner or confined it to what was happening just at that moment. Even when the Chinese were fighting against us, our basic stand of supporting China's admission into the United Nations remained unchanged for the simple reason that we felt that it was unrealistic to ignore such a large country and that the United Nations could not function if such a large mass of humanity was not represented there. I am giving this merely as an example that we have always tried to assess matters and events independently and have not changed our stand merely because a person happened to oppose us or to be against us.

In the last couple of years, important changes have taken place in this region and in the world. Rigid attitudes are beings oftened and this change is reflected in a number of instances where confrontation is gradually being replaced by conciliation, animosity by understanding, and conflict by search for co-operation. It is some consolation to us that the steps towards detente are not confined to Europe but are being extened to Asia. The next few months will show whether there has been a firm basis for peace. We can only hope that the truce that has been agreed upon in Paris will open an opportunity for durable peace in Vietnam and other parts of Indo-China. It should be our endeavour to co-operate fully with these nations in the task of reconstruction which awaits them.

I should like to refer to some remarks I made in Delhi which seem to have attracted adverse notice. Those remarks or any remarks that I have made are not against any particular country. They were an assessment of what I think the future could be. We have an example—for instance—at the end of the First World War. Many historians have stated that had the victors of that war shown greater understanding of the situation, there would never have been a Second World War. But because of the attitude at that time, in the peace that was arrived at was born the situation which led to the Second World War. Now this is what I was trying to say in my speech there, that there are some of those elements in this truce agreement. It is obvious that an agreement of this kind is not a simple matter, in fact it is an exceedingly complicated agreement and perhaps nothing else was possible. The remark I made was in no sense a criticism of the Vietnam accord but to point out that there are dangers which face all of us in the future events in South-East. Asia, and nobody knows what it will lead to. Even with the best of goodwill on all sides things can come about. And if we can see the danger it is only honest one's part to point it out, because if it does not go right then it is not just one area which will be unhappy but the whole world will be unhappy, and the effects will be widespread.

Apart from this, there was tension in another part of Asia. India, being next-door neighbour to Bangladesh and Pakistan, had to share the travails of 1971. We tried to avoid war, and when it was forced upon us, we strove to limit its scope. The moment Pakistanis surrendered in Bangladesh, allowing the people of that country to achieve their aspiration, we unilaterally ended our operations on the Western front also and took the initiative, without pride or passion, for talks with President Bhutto. It is our conviction that durable peace can be established only on a footing of goodwill and equality. It was in this belief that we signed the Simla Agreement. Again in Simla, we unilaterally offered to withdraw from territories which had come under our control. The withdrawals have since been completed but the foundations which we had hoped to establish with Pakistan as a prelude to the solution of our problems are still elusive. However, we on our part shall keep on working for it, for the very good reason that the interests of all of us in the subcontinent are complementary. In our scheme for the future, there should not only be sympathy and co-operation but an effective working together to help Bangladesh in the task to rebuild its economy and to solve the other problems common to our subcontinent in a spirit of equality, trust and active friendship.

## Non-Alignment

For many years the very word "non-alignment" was regarded as somewhat bad and there has been a great deal of misunderstanding and even misinterpretation about it. I have been often asked to explain neutrality. We in India have never been neutral and we think no living person who is interested in what is happening can possibly be netural in anything. You have a view of everything that happens whether it concerns you or not and we think that most things concern almost everybody. When we were said we were non-aligned, it meant that we had far too many problems of our own to get were entangled with the problems of other countries. Like any newly-independent country, we very jealous of our freedom. Independence to us did not mean only that we had our own Government but that we had independence of judgement and action regardless of what other countries and governments did. Non-alignment to us meant not belonging to any military bloc or group and also to have the freedom to make our own assessment of each situation and to act about it in our own interests and in the iterests of world peace, and we have always considered these two interests to be the same. Now that members of each power bloc are building bridges with their rivals as well as with non-aligned nations, one might say that the period of bipolarity and Cold War attitude of the post-war world has come to an end. And in the process the policy of non-alignment stands vindicated.

However, this is only a beginning. Human history does not run a smooth course. The nations of Asia and Africa and other non-aligned nations must remain in their guard. We feel that non-alignment continues to be valid and that despite moves for detente, military machines have not been disbanded. Despite the efforts to reach an agreement, pressures on smaller nations have not abated. So long as certain countries wish to follows a policy of balance of power and to extened their spheres of influence nations like ours must stand with the resolve to pursue an independent foreign policy and to seek friendship and to safeguard our national personality.

There is some talk, especially here in Nepal of India's vast size. But the problems that confront us, of providing food, shelter, education, health and fuller opportunities to 570 million people, are equally vast. Our endeavour has been to employ our own resources for the benefit of our people If we can share our skills and experiences with other countries, we shall be glad. Each country should be independent. But the world also needs independence. We think that in today's world no country, however big, can be fully self-sufficient. But we also think that unless a country has enough strength, there is danger for it and that is why we work towards self-reliance.

India has neither the desire nor the inclination to be a power—big, small or of any kind—nor to interfere with her neighbours in any way. As I said earlier, it is in our interests that our neighbours are strong and stable, and therefore, if we can help them, we shall be glad to do so, even though we ourselves are fully absorbed in our own problems.

In the past past few years of planned development we have achieved considerable progress. We have doubled our agricultural production and secured big diversification of industry and technology. This year, because of the drought which has also affected several other parts of Asia, our agricultural production has been affected. Although we still estimate a harvest of over 100 million tonns of foodgrains, compared to 55 million tons 20 years ago, there is apprehension in the mind of people. This of course is partly because people need more foodgrains, because the population is larger, but also because vast numbers of people who were not eating wheat and rice all these years now want to eat it. Our people's expectations grow faster than our ability to fulfil them. And unfortunately the course of development is always such that first benefits go to those who are slightly better off, rather than to those who are in greater need. We feel that growth and development are of utmost importance, but planning cannot ignore social justice. Therefore we must pay special attention to the weaker sections of our society. Even in interest of development one has to see that social justice is done and that the people have a feeling that the development is not for a new section but that the fruits of development will reach all sections of the people.

## Our Programme

It is with this objective that we have undertaken our vast programmes of provision of land, house sites and work for the landless in the countryside. We have embarked upon a programme to curb the concentration of wealth and economic power and to reduce economic disparities in our society through ceilings on land and urban property, progressive taxation and other similar measures. Our Fifth Five-Year Plan will be launched next year. It proposes to take the programmes of social justice a great deal further. Simultaneously, it is aimed at making fuller use of the potential which we have built and reducing our need for aid.

> She has shown to the world that she is a brave nation.
>
> We have to march forward on our chosen path irrespective of all obstacles. No doubt the people will live with courage, fight with courage and if need be, die with courage.
>
> —*Smt. Indira Gandhi*

# Historical Utterances of Mujibur Rahman

## Democracy & Nationalism

A new era has now to begin in Bangladesh, an era of reconstruction, an era of economic development and cultural freedom and an era to uphold the democratic rights of the people of my country. I have not doubt in my mind that India, our next door neighbour, will proudly march on as the largest democracy of the world under the dynamic leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. We on our part are striving to advance the common ideal of nationalism, democracy, secularism and socialism at home and non-alignment in international relation.

My country is irrevocably committed to democracy. All Bengalis shall enjoy all the rights and privileges that they are entitled to as citizens of a free country. The basic policy of our state is to lay the foundations of a socialist economy. Our goal in the international arena is democracy, and equality for all people.

Grave and challenging problems, including those of hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and floods among others lie ahead. We pledge to do everything possible, with the active support and co-operation of the people, so that we may look forward to a better future.

I call upon the workers, peasants, members of Mukti Bahini and of the East Bengal Rifles to help rebuild the country. I want you to rededicate yourself to relieve the stress of the people. I exhort you to work hard in this difficult task of nation building so that we as Bengalis can stand with our heads high.

Blood of the martyrs will not be allowed to go in vain. I advise young generations to go through the history of Bangladesh. Nations which do not know their own history cannot flourish.

Our struggle must go on. For the real goals lie ahead. Power has to be won by the people. The exploitation of man by man and of region by region must be brought to an end.

No people have secured freedom and justice unless they have been prepared to die for it. We have faced and overcome every form of repression. It is that gives us the courage and confidence today to commit ourselves to the task of confronting the anti-democratic forces.

## Socialism

I am determined to establish a socialistic economic order in the country, not through revolution but through evolution. The economy will be people-oriented so that the ordinary people—the workers, cultivators and the like—get economic justice. I will not allow monopoly and cartel in Bangladesh. There will be no twenty-two families and Bangladesh.

The present economic system which has established an intolerable structure of injustice must be radically altered. Protected markets, tax holidays, huge subsidies in the form of bonus vouchers, credits and grants of foreign exchange at the artificially low official rates have created specially favourable condition for the growth of monopoly and cartels.

We believe that it is imperative to place key areas of the economy including banking and insurance, under public ownership through nationalisation. Future development in these areas should take place in the public sector. In the order, workers should share in the equity capital and management of industrial enterprises.

Industrial workers play as vital a role in the economy as in the people's struggle. Their basic rights to form trade unions, to bargain collectively and to strike must be guaranteed.

### Secularism

We firmly believe in the equality of all citizens. The members of the minority community should know that we have always stood against every form of communalism. They shall enjoy equal rights with all other citizens and shall enjoy equal protections of the land.

The Pakistanis call us non-muslims. Let me tell them that Bangladesh is the second largest Muslim country in the world after Indonesia while Pakistan has receded to fourth place. But we are not only muslims we are also Hindus and our objective is socialism and not pan-Islam.

### Non-alignment and World Peace

We believe that it is imperative for us to avoid involvement in global power conflicts. We must, therefore, pursue truly independent non-aligned foreign policy. We support the struggle of the oppressed people against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid. In keeping with the principle of "friendship for all and malice towards none". We believe in peaceful co-existence with all states and in particular our neighbours.

I warn foreign powers that Bangladesh will not allow anyone to interfere in its internal affairs while at the same time it will not aspire to interfere in the affairs of any other country. Bangladesh will pursue an independent neutral policy. It will not involve itself in war with any country but on the other hand will follow a policy of friendship will all. I appeal to the big powers to stop the arms race and their interference in other countries affairs. It will be the best possible thing they can do to mankind. Billions of dollars spent on arms can be utilised for the betterment of the poor and suffering humanity. They should work for a lasting peace in the world.

# Text of Proclamation of Independence

*The following is the text of proclamation of independence by the Bangla Desh Government made on April 10 at Mujibnagar :*

"Whereas free elections were held in Bangla Desh from 7th December, 1970 to 17th January, 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a constitution, and,

—Whereas at these elections the people of Bangla Desh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League and

—Whereas General Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a constitution, and

—Whereas the assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for indefinite period, and

—Whereas instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangla Desh Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

"Whereas in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 millions of people of Bangla Desh, in due fulfilment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangla Desh duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangla Desh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangla Desh, and

—Whereas in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistani authorities committed and are still continuously committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangla Desh, and

—Whereas the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by others repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representative of the people of Bangla Desh to meet and frame a constitution, and give to themselves a Government, and

—Whereas the people of Bangla Desh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangla Desh,

"We the elected representative of the people of Bangla Desh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangla Desh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a constituent assembly, and

—Inorder to ensure for the people of Bangla Desh equality, human dignity and social justice,

—Declare and constitute Bangla Desh to be sovereign peoples republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, and

—Do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a constitution is framed, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic, and

—That the President shall be the supreme commander of all the armed forces of the Republic,

—Shall exercise all the executive and legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon,

—Shall have the power to levy taxes and expendmonies,

—Shall have the power to summon and adjourn the constituent assembly, and

—Do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangla Desh an orderly and just Government.

"We the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President.

—We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon us as a member of the family of nations and by the Charter of United Nations.

—We further resolve that this proclamation of Independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

—We further resolve that in order to give effect to this instrument, we appointed Prof. M. Yusuf Ali our duly constituted potentiary and to give to the President and the Vice-President oaths of office.

M. YUSUF ALI.

"By and under the Authority of the Constituent Assembly of Bangla Desh".

# Bangla Desh--

# Secular, Socialist In Outlook

GANA PRAJATANTRI BANGLA DESH will follow a socialist pattern of economy and secularism based on mutual tolerance and accommodation of each other's views.

The key note of its foreign policy will be friendship towards all and malice towards none.

The aspirations and objectives of the new nation have been enunciated as follows :

## Freedom and rights

1. The State will guarantee life, liberty and property of each individual irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

2. Freedom of speech, expression, association and religion will be guaranteed by constitutional sanctions.

3. All individual offences of any description will be justiciable.

4. Press will be free.

5. The judiciary shall be independent and neutral.

## Government

1. It is a democratic country with a Government elected by the people on the basis of universal adult franchise. The Government is a parliamentary democracy.

2. The people are democratically oriented and have been consistently upholding oriental and democratic value in the face of invasion from many directions.

## Economy

1. The economy will be based on a socialistic pattern. There must be sufficient for all before there is superfluity for some.

2. Evolution through the process of democracy to reach the goal is the path to be followed both within and without. Planned development of economy through democratic process is the goal.

3. Process and prosperity of all people are the broad objectives determining formulation of Government decisions. Full employment in a free society is her objective.

4. There will be equitable distribution of wealth through various economic measures.

5. Monopoly and cartels will be done away with. All financial sources will be nationalised along with the key industries.

6. Jute—the premier foreign exchange earner—is considered to be a national product and its trade will be nationalised.

## Industry

1. Industry in Bangla Desh is in an embryonic stage and with a monopolist bias. This tendency will not only be arrested but reversed effectively.

2. Industrialisation will thus be planned to make effective dispersal of capital and capital goods.

3. Cottage industry will play a predominant role in the country's industrial complex and will feed big industries.

4. Industrial workers will be a classified factor of production.

5. Shares of industries and profits thereof will be distributed among workers.

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## Agriculture

1. Agriculture is backbone of the country's economy and is bound to remain so. Everything possible to augment agricultural economy will be done by the Government. Application of science to agriculture is the motto of the Government.

2. There is no zamindari (feudal) system in the country. But land holdings require to be rationalised and the Government is posted with the problem.

3. The peasants having holdings upto 25 bighas or eight acres of land will enjoy land revenues exemption.

4. The Government khas lands will be freely distributed among the landless peasants.

5. "Land to the tillers" is the central theme of the agrarian policy of the Government.

## Society

1. All people are equal in the eyes of law and society irrespective of caste, creed and religion. All are entitled to equal protection of law.

2. The Society is a secular society based on mutual tolerance and accommodation of each other's views.

3. The society is divided into segments of activities within the purview of the concept of local self-government being elected by the people on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

## Culture

1. The culture is Bengali culture enshrining universal contributions of poets, literateurs, folk singers and intellectuals.

2. Nature in her bounty exercises a tremendous influence on the people and makes them fond of music tuned to the flow of the rivers and rivulets.

## Foreign Policy

1. 'Friendship towards all and malice towards none is the keynote of the foreign policy of the Government of Bangla Desh.

2. Ending political subjugation, economic exploitation and cultural invasion is the objective of the foreign policy.

3. Bangla Desh believes in a peaceful co-existence on the basis of mutual understanding through dialogues.

4. Bangla Desh denounces imperialism and neo-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and all other extraneous forces, having their sinister influence on smaller countries.

5. Bangla Desh stands for and will persistently work for world and regional peace for the development of human civilization and prosperity.

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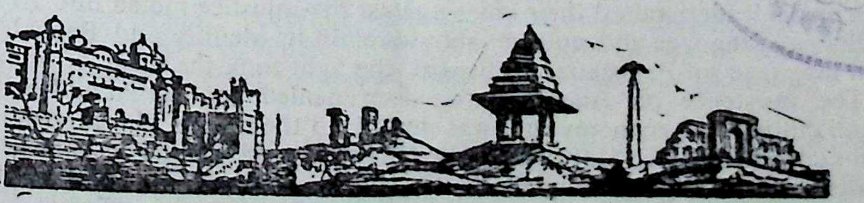

# Background of Bangladesh Liberation Struggle

## Genesis of Pakistan

The Bengali Population of Bangladesh and the Pakistan population of Punjab and Sind did not from the begining fulfil the conditions of forming a unified state. Their culture, their racial origin, their habits, dresses and diets were all different. Moreover the two wings were separated by a distance of about 1000 miles through India. The link was the link of religion alone. The Bengalis therefore joined the Pakistan scheme solely on the basis of the 1940 Lahore Resolution.

## Lahore Resolution of 1940

Lahore resolution of All India Muslim League of 23 March, 1940 adopted Pakistan as its goal which demanded that geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted, with such geographical adjustments as may be necessary so that areas in which Muslims are in majority as in North Western Zone of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and Sovereign. The resolution clearly stated that the respective regions shall control "all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary and envisaged two independent states in West and East.

Mujibur Rehman old did not want secesson from Pakistan inspite of the shamefaced exploitation of Bangladesh by the Western Wing. He wanted only the implemention of the Lahore Resolution on the basis of which East Bengal agreed to join the Pakistan scheme. He went so far to concede the powers of Foreign affairs and Defence to the lo se Federation conceived by the Resolution. It is the military regime of Marshal Ayub Khan which perpetrated a heinous deception on the people. The imperialist nations and China must go between the lines of the Lahore Resolution before dubbing Mujibur Rehman and his Awami Party as secessionists and extending support to the military dictatorship.

But Lahore Resolution was only a fraud on the people of Bangladesh. So consistent attempts were made to crush Bengali culture the attempt to force Urdu on Bengal, Dacca revolt of 1950 when nine students courted death, attempt to ban Rabindra Sangeet. It added an economic extra dimension to the economic suppression of the Bengalis. The threat to Bengali culture sharpened the consciousness of their cultural identity among the people. So Pakistan died the very-day it was born.

Apart from the economic and other disparities, the fact that concerned the people of East Bengal most was that despite their majority they had to suffer the humiliation of being dominated politically by West Pakistan's bureaucracy and military oligarchy. The demanded that injustice agai st them should cease forthwith and their genuine and legitimate political, cultural and economic aspirations should be respected and fulfilled. The Bengalis were forced by Pakistani bureaucracy and military junta to feel alienated in the country with which they had cast their lot in 1947.

The East Bengalis leaders raised their voice against the injustice meted out to their people. They also wanted that Bengali language and culture should retain its identity and Bengali language should be delared the official language of Pakistan. In Bengal the fight took the form of linguistic nationalism in the beginning. The insistence on Islamic nationalism denied the actual and material basis of a free unexploited Bengali culture and economy that was denied to them. In March 1948 Jinnah's declaration in his convocation address in Dacca University that URDU would be the national language of Pakistan infuriated the student community of Bangladesh. 7% of the Pakistanis were URDU speaking whereas 54.6% were Bengali speaking. The Ayub regime launched repeated offensives against the Bengali language, script and the greatest writers of the language in the continent and Asia.

In 1952 blood flowed over the issue of Bengali language. The blood that flowed for Bengali language and Bengali culture was Muslim blood......blood of Jabbar, Rafiuddin, Salam and Barkat and twentytwo young East Bengalis who became shaheed or martyrs. Reaction started its revenge. Bangladesh became a prison where it was a neo-apartehied applied to the great majority of the people by an oligarchy.

The people of East Bengal dealt a blow to the Muslim League in 1954 when it was completely routed in the provincial election. The United Front led by Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy of the Awami League and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq of the Krishna Sramik Party came in power and formed Government.

The West Pakistan ruling clique could not digest the victory of the people of East Bengal and proclaimed Governor's rule after dismissing the popular Ministry and the Assembly. It was a great setback to democracy in Pakistan. Democratic institutions through which popular grievances could have been effectively channelized were denied to the people of Pakistan in general and to the people of East Bengal in particular.

Then came the Martial Law regime in 1968 which was a powerful attempt of military Generals to perpetuate West Pakistani political and economic domination on the majority of the people living in East Bengal. The Bengali leaders, who were demanding maximum regional autonomy and wanted to establish a new balance of political and economic power the Centre and the provinces, became suspects in the eyes of military rulers. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, then General Secretary of the Awami League, Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani and Khan Abdul Gaffar Kha , along with many other prominent political leaders, were arrested.

Ayub promised to remove-disparities existing between East and West Pakistan but his words remained mere palliatives, and the situation worsened during his regime,

The students in Dacca, Chittagong, Bogra, Rajshahi and other places rose against the regimentation imposed by Ayub's dictatorship. They held demonstrations and demanded the restoration of parliamentary democracy. The political arrogance of the Military junta was incompatible with the popular demand for the restoration of democratic institutions. Hudreds of demonstrating students were put behind bars.

Ayub tried to bring changes piecemeal, and in 1962 he gave Pakistan a Constitution which was totally unacceptable to the people of Pakistan because it failed to reflect their feelings. Ayub's military regime, supported by West Pakistani bureaucracy, widened the gulf between the two regions of the country. The people of East Bengal wanted their political and economic rights, and thought no sacrifice too great for their achievement. They rose as one man against the military dictatorship and Ayub resorted to ruthless brutal force to crush the democratic movement in East Bengal.

A region of terror was unleashed. All popular leaders were arrested. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the leader of the Awami League, demanded maximum regional autonomy based on his six points. He was arrested and implicated in the false Agartala Conspiracy Case in January 1968 on charges of conpiring to topple the Govt. and to turn East Bengal into an independent country with the active help of India. It was a nefarious design to discredit Sheikh Mujib and his followers.

The people protested and a wave of resentment and anger spread to all corners of East Bengal. Widespread unrest rocked the country, and the police resorted to firing in Dacca on December 7, 1968, killing two persons and wounding several others. The army was called out to maintain law and order but the people did not yield to military brutalities and continued their struggle for democratization and economic development. There were complete strikes and bandhs in Dacca and other towns of East Bengal. About 1,000 were arrested throughout East Bengal on December 14, 1968.

In Dacca, Narainganj and elsewhere about 25 persons were killed in police firing. The people urged Ayub to release Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and launched an agitation to achieve the objective. Ayub, confronted with a mighty agitation, had to yield and bow before the people. He freed Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and withdrew the Agartala Conspiracy Case. A Round Table Conference was called in March 1969, where Sheikh Mujib was also invited. Sheik Mujib demanded full regional autonomy for both wings of Pakistan but the Military rulers and Punjabi politicians did not agree to the demand of autonomy which meant to them the end of their hegemony.

Ayub could not face the onslaught of popular anger and on March 25, 1969, he passed on the power to General Mohammad Yahya Khan who reimposed Martial Law and dissolved National and Provincial Assemblies. He promised General Elections in December 1970. The Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman secured a clear mandate from the people of East Bengal in the elections held on December 7, 1970. Sheikh Mujib fought the elections on his six-point programme of regional autonomy. His six points were :

1. The constitution should provide for a federation of Pakistan in the true sense on the basis of the Lahore resolution and for a Parliamentary form of Government based on the supremacy of a duly elected legislature on the basis of universal adult franchise.

2. The Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects—defence and foreign affairs—with all residuary subjects vested in the federating states.

3. There should be either two separate freely convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency with two separate Reserve Banks to prevent inter-wing flight of capital.

4. The power of taxation and revenue collection shall be vested in the federating units. The Federal Government will receive a share to meet its financial obligations.

5. Economic disparities between the two wings shall disappear through a series of economic, fiscal and legal reforms.

6. A militia or para-military force must be created in East Pakistan, which at present has no defence of its own.

The Awami Leage secured 167 out of 169 seats alloted to East Bengal in the National Assembly, whose total strength was 313. Thus it got an absolute majoriity of seats in the National Assembly, and also established itself as the unchallenged representative of the people of Eastern Wing. The National Assembly was scheduled to meet and draft a Constitution within 120 days of the first meeting. The Awami League was the largest single party in the National Assembly and its first session was scheduled on March 3, 1971.

Sheik Mujibur Rehman made it very clear that Pakistan's future Constitution would be based on the six points of regional autonomy. Serious deadlock arose mainly because West Pakistani Punjabi politicians led by Mr. Z.A. Bhutto of Pakistan's People's Party found it impossible to come to terms with Sheik Mujib's programme. Yahya Khan moved in and acted in the interest of the rulling Military Junta and bureaucracy of West Pakistan. He postponed the session of the National Assembly indefinitely on the pretext that there were serious differences between Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and Mr. Z.A. Bhutto on the question of draft constitution of Pakistan.

The postponement of the National Assembly was a denial to the people of East Bengal of their legitimate democratic rights to rule according to their own wishes. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman gave a call for non-cooperation and civil disobedience to paralyse the Govt. in East Bengal on March 1, 1971.

Only for the sake of a minority party's disagreement the democratic process of constitution making has been obstructed and the National Assembly session has been postponed *sine die*. This is most unfortunate as far as we are concerned. We are the representatives of the majority people and we cannot allow it to go unchallenged.

We are ready for any consequence. I have mentioned many times the fact that a conspiracy is going on in this country. There was a general Election and the people have elected us to serve them and we have a responsibility towards them. But inspite of the clear verdict in our favour, the conspiracy has struck the root.

Mujibur Rehman announced a programme which included observance of complete strike on March 1 and a countrywide strike on March 3—the date earlier fixed for the National Assembly to meet. On March 7, 1971 he announced a ten-point programme of non-violence, non-cooperation movement including no-tax campaign, closing of all educational institutions, observance of hartals by Govt. and semi-govt. offices, stoppage of all remittances to the Western Wing by bank workers and so on. He also formed a council of Action. The people responded to his call and refused to obey the orders from Rawalpindi. There were clashes between the people and the police. The situation worsened and the army was called to quell the demonstrators. The army resorted to indiscriminate firing and killed more than 350 persons and injured about 1,000 persons in East Bengal.

The edge of the people's resistance got sharpened and they resolved to fight and die for the restoration of their basic rights. Yahya Khan announced that the Assembly would meet on March 25, 1971, but Sheikh Mujibur Rehman put four conditions for participating in the National Assembly's deliberations. He asked for (1) Immediate end of Martial Law regime, (2) Withdrawl of troops from East Pakistan, (3) An inquiry into the Killings of the strikers and (4) Immediate handing over of power to the People's representatives.

The people of East Bengal were fully behind Sheikh Mujib who, alongwith his party, was in effective control of the situation when Yahya arrived in Dacca and initiated a series of meetings with Mujib. While the talks were on, the Martial Law Administration let loose a reign of terror and repression and shot down 30 demonstrators in Joydevpur on March 19, 1971.

Bhutto and other West Pakistani leaders were summoned to Dacca by Yahya Khan. The meetings were on and the impression was deliberately created that a compromise had been reached under which Yahya agreed to accept 'Sovereign Independent Bengal' as a unit of Confederation of Pakistan. 'Sovereign Independent Bengal' or 'Bangladesh' was in keeping with the spirit of the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution of 1940 which unambiguously envisaged sovereign autonomous units in Pakistan.

On March 25, serious deadlock arose. Yahya, Bhutto and other West Pakistani leaders flew back to Rawalpindi. West Pakistani troops had arrived by then and a reign of terror and repression was unleashed.

Mujibur Rehman was arrested on the midnight of March 25, 1971 and shifted to the Western Wing. In a statement to the Press the same day, his last testament before his arrest, Bangabandhu gave an inspiring message to the nation "I urge our heroic people to continue with their struggle No power on earth can now frustrate the just and legitimate demands of the 75 million people of Bangladesh. Our demands are just and clear and there is no other way out than to accede to the demands in toto. The unprecedented unity of 75 million people of Bangladesh is bound to realise their legitimate demands. These cannot be suppressed by force now whatever its strength. If anyone shows his eyes to suppress the people's rights, we will not tolerate and will either live as free citizens of the country or will perish but never bow down to the unholy cliques. The people must continue the movement until their legitimate demands are fully accepted and they are emancipated."

The Awami League Party workers and sympathisers were arrested and unarmed people were brutally gunned down in Dacca streets. Brutal military force was used to kill unarmed people. Houses were demolished. Women were raped and killed and children were mercilessly butchered. It was not merely indiscriminate killing. It was genocide which paled even Hitler's and Salaazar's records.

Denial of democracy to majority of the people of Pakistan living in (East Bengal) by West Pakistani vested interests could no longer be tolerated. This was the end of Pakistan as far as the people of East Bengal were concerned. They declared themselves independent on March 26, 1971.

On April 10, The Proclamation of Independence Order was issued and given effect from March 26, 1971. A provisional Govt. was formed with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as President, Syed Nazrul Islam as vice-President and Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister. The Members of the newly-formed Sovereign Democratic Republic of Bangladesh assembled at Mujibnagar on April 17, 1971 and resolved to undertake to give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon them as a member of the family of nations and by the charter of the united Nations. In a statement on April 17, given before hundreds of foreign Journalists assembled there on the occasion of the inauguration of the Independent Democratic Republic of Bangladesh, Tazuddin Ahmed stated the background of the Bangladesh affairs and the circumstances under which Bangladesh declared her Independence. He declared "Bangladesh is at war. It has been given no choice but to secure its right of self-determination through a national liberation struggle against the colonial oppression of Pakistan."

Then followed a bloody struggle in which every citizen, irrespective of his casts, creed and religion, joined and suffered. The East Pakistan Rifles, East Bengal Regiment, Mojaheds, Ansars formed the nucleus of the Mukti Fauz. Lakhs and lakhs of men, women, old and young, and even children of tender age, swelled the ranks of the Mukti bahini. Pakistan authorities admitted that 14 thousand regular soldiers, 30 thousand men of police forces, 4 thousand members of FBR defected from the Pakistan Government. It was a saga of valour and sacrifice—a competition among the soldiers, as it were, to offer one's life first at the altar of their Motherland. They were unequipped, untrained, half-starved. But all difficulties and obstructions were compensated by their undying love for motherland, devotion to duty, sense of discipline and determination to achieve the goal even at the sacrifice of life.

The Pak army planned to complete the operation war in 48 hours with a further 24 hours for mopping up operation. But they could not imagine that the whole nation of 75 million will rise in arms with the united determination of 'do or die'. At first the soldiers of the Muktibahini were at a loss to determine the right tactics of warfare and attemted to give a frontal battle causing colossal loss of human lives. But gradually they veered round the correct path and adopted guerilla operation. The whole Bangladesh freedom struggle is replete with acts of courage, heroism and dedication of life for the cause. Roshanara Begum became a martyr by destroying a Pakistan tank by jumping over it with a mine wrapped in her body. Girls joined in number and the Roshanara girls squad came in existence. Suicide squads were formed. Gradually the entire countryside came under the control of Independent Bangladesh Government. The occupational forces were confined to the cantonment towns. Control over miles of territory along 1349 mile long frontier with Eastern India was established frustrating all attempts by the Pak Army to seal the border. Heavy losses on the Pak army were inflicted; it was given out that during four months from March 26,20000 Pak soldiers were killed on a conservative estimate leaving aside countless number of wounded. Muktibahini gathered strength day after day and stepped up its operations. Trains were derailed, railway lines were destroyed, important bridges were blown up, ships were sunk. Soon it became clear that no occupational force could gain a victory against the entire nation at war.

In the international sphere barbarous and inhuman atrocities committed by the Pak Army soon became known throughout the world., mainly through the untiring efforts of the Indian government. Special envoys were sent all over the world and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself went to the important capitals of the world. Russia and the socialist countries gave their unstinted support to the right of self-determination of the Bangladesh people. Ambassadors and the embassy staffs all over the world hailing from Bangladesh transferred their allegiance to their Motherland. Thus everything was set for a final victory—it was only a question of time. A vigorous push was only necessary for an early outcome. At this stage India intervened. She had already been troubled with 10 million refugees escaping from Bangladesh owing to the threat to their lives and honour posed by the inhuman Pak soldiers. Pak army were also shelling border towns of India continually for a long time. But the last straw on the camel's back was the unprovoked attack by the Pak war planes on six contonment cities of India on December 3, 1971. Yahya Khan declared war on India on December 4. India retaliated and the Indian forces entered Bangladesh. On December 6. India recognised Bangladesh. One by one all the contonment towns were occupied and the city of Dacca was surrounded from all sides. On the historic day of December 16, Lt. General Niazi along with 90 thousand occupation forces was forced to surrender to the combined Indo-Bangladesh army commanded by Lt. General Aurora. India lost in this operation 45 aircrafts, 73 tanks and one warship in both the fronts ; 1021 Indian soldiers were killed, 2915 were wounded in the Bangladesh front alone. To crown this glorious victory, Mujibur Rehman was released from Pak jail on Jan. 10 and took over the administration of his country. He gave a clarion call to his countrymen to rebuild the country, "I call upon the workers, peasants, members of the Mukti Bahini, the East Bengal Rifles to help rebuildthe country. I want you to re-dedicate yourself to relieve the stress on the people I entrust you to work hard in this difficult task of nation building so that we as Bengalees can stand with our heads high".

# Yahya's Planned Murders

*Correspondent*

IN A RECENT television programme in London of an interview with President Bhutto, the President was stated to have agreed to some excesses in the Bangladesh operations but instantly qualified it by saying that such excesses by the people engaged in a war were not unexpected. This statement of excesses qualified by 'some' and attempt to justify on grounds of war are shocking. The World knows of the extent of barbarity committed by the Pak army which is unparalleled in the world history. Furthermore President Bhutto knows more than anybody else that these were not in any way connected with the operation of a war. How can the operation have any connection with the insult to the modesty of four lakhs of girls? How can the killing of intellectuals and innocent unarmed people be necessitated by war? The fact is that the atrocious excesses were preplanned and started long before any resistance was organised.

As Prime Minister Tazuddin Ahmed had said in his statement of April 17, "In an act of treachery a programme of calculated genocide was unleashed on the peaceful and unsuspected population of Dacca by the midnight of March 25, 1971. By the time the first Martial Law proclamation issued by Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan was broadcast the next morning some 50,000 people, most of them without offering any resistance and many women and children, had been butchered. Dacca had been turned into an inferno with fires raging in most corners of the city. Sleeping inhabitants had been drawn from their homes by the fires started by the military, were machine gunned as they ran to escape the flames".

Just before the liberation of Bangladesh on the 16th of December 100 intellectuals were murdered by Albadar and Razakars according to lists prepared by Rao Ferman Ali. Another list of hundred names was discovered and the persons would have been executed had the liberation been delayed by another day.

All these show a deliberate execution of a plan to teach the Bengalis a lesson according to a programme (a), destroy, Bengali culture by eliminating the intelligensia. (b) destroy wealth of Bangladesh by scortched earth policy, (c) dishonour women of Bengal (d) kill Hindus and followers of Awami League, (e) drive away as many people as possible to India out of the land so that East Bengal may for ever lose the claim of the majority.

It was quite clear that Pakistan began its operation according to plan first to eliminate the intelligensia. Iqbal Hall and Jaganath Hall were attacked on the morning of March 26 and hundreds of students were killed.

Faculty members who were killed include G.C. Dev, Head and Professor of Philosophy; Moniruzzaman, Head and Professor of Statistics; Prof. Ali, Head and Professor of History; Prof. Jotirmoy Guha Thakurta, Head and Professor of English: Dr. Munim, Instructor of English, Dr. Naquix, Professor Huda, Head of the Department of Economics and Prof. Innasali, Head of the Department of Physics were wounded. Besides these an organised assault on professors, journalists, doctors and literary men was perpetrated.

As an illustration of the pre-planned way this aspect of the operation was carried out—the way some of the professors, doctors and journalists were taken out from their homes and killed mercilessly, can be stated.

Shri Jogesh, Ch. Ghosh, the noted auyrvedic physician and founder of the world famous Sadhana Oushadhaloy devoted his life for the welfare and service of the people. Many of his factory workers fled away in fear of life but he could not think of leaving his Sadhana Oushadhaloy, dearer than his life; perhaps he decided to die, if he had to die, in the lap of his dear Motherland. Sutrapur area where the huge workshop of the Oushadhaloy was situated was almost deserted after the incidents of March 25. The two watchmen Rampal and Suraj, who were devoted to him only stayed back even at the risk of their lives. On the terrible night towards the first week of April, a military zeep stopped at the gate where the two faithful servants were on their watch. Five or six soldiers came down, broke open the locks one after the other and shot few rounds of blank fire. Suraj opened fire as a reply and there was exchange of fires from both sides for a few munites. Peace of the night was disturbed by the sound of the flying bullets. After all this the coward Khan senas fled away that night. defeated by a single untrained watchman.

Next morning Jogeshbabu and some few co-workers came down to see the wreckage of the destruction caused by the Pak soldiers. Just then a military zeep full of Pak soldiers arrived and chased him. When the soldiers left, dead body of the eighty year oldman was found out in the kitchen with innumerable bayonet wounds on his body. That was not the end of all. Life long saving of the man had also been looted. What a show of bravery by the Pak soldiers !

Dr. Shyamsuddin Ahmed, the Chief professor of surgery of the Sylhet Medical College was another victim of the infernal barbarity of the Pak army, Why was such a man dedicated to the cause of service, a god-like man practically without any enemy killed ? This was not the murder of a man but murder of humanity.

In the pre-partition days he was the President of Assam Muslim Students Federation. While he was reading in the Medical College of Calcutta, he ranked among the prominent student leaders of Bengal. At the time of his death he was the General Secretary, East Pakistan Medical Association and under his leadership the weak organisation was revived.

In 1964 he founded in Jalalabad an association for the welfare of the blind and established fourteen centres in different parts of Sylhet. Another work of distinction was his foundation of the association for the prevention of Pthysis.

As soon as the non-cooperation movement was started from March 7, he foresaw what was coming. He used to tell his students to be ready for widespread spilling of blood and to organise a first aid squad. He gave the lead, made separate packages of useful articles and stored them in different places.

After the fatal night of 25th March, soldiers of the Bengal Regiment, Ansars, Mojahids, JCC Cadets, police force, students and youngmen formed Mukti Fouz in different parts of Sylhet and inflicted mortal wounds on the enemy. Three hundred square miles of border area of Sylhet, Habiganj, Sunamganj and Moulavi bazar mahakumas came under their complete control. On April 3rd the Mukti Fouz in their maddening enthusiasm occupied Sylhet town. The occupation forces took shelter in the Salutikar air base and the jungles near about. Then began the bombardments from the Pak air force planes. Thousands of bullet came down like rains, hundreds of people were wounded and admitted to the medical college. Dr. Shamsuddin was busy in attending these helpless victims of the most brutal attacks almost single handed. There was not water, no food, no electric light. But he was indomitable. On April 8, the Pak soldiers regrouped themselves and attacked Sylhet town with all their might, and re-occupied it. All the town was by that time deserted. He asked his students to leave the city as they had their future, as they were the future assets of the country. But himself and some of the doctors remained back to attend to the innumerable patients. On the blood stained April 9, the Pak army surrounded the medical college and waving all the civilised rules and regulation, all the universal rules and conventions of war entered the hospital. Dr. Shamsuddin, the very embodiment of devotion and service, impervious of the happenings outside or hazards to his own life was busy in attending seriously injured patients. The Pak senas snatched him and some of his colleagues away like so many ferocious beasts into the lawns outside made them stand in a firing squad and fired upon them. Three shots were fired on Dr. Ahmed and the reverned doctor fell down. Dr. Tarunkanti Lala, assistant nurse Mahmud Rehman, ambulance driver Korbanullah followed their Chief. Thus came to an end of an invaluable and saintly life !

Now let us take the case of a journalist. The Ittefak was a sworn enemy of Pakistan and from the beginning of the crackdown they made the paper their target. Some eye witnesses evidence narrated these encounters and the sad murder of Serajuddin Hossain. Narrating an incident of March 25, night the narrator said that at 10 p.m. on that night he asked Mr. Hossain to return home as the atmosphere of Dacca were appearing to be critical. But the Ittefak was the very life of Hossain-bhai and he refused to leave his station determined to bring out the paper next day. Some of the workers went out to observe for themselves the actual condition of the city in the office pick-up car towards Moghbazar. But they could not go further and their progress was halted near the Governor's house (Bangabhavan). Before them was a long stretch of barricades of bricks, woodlogs, iron shafts at the interval of 15' feet. Masses of men were moving nearby with iron rods, bamboo lathis—anything they could find near at hand. They were determined to face the sophisticated armed strength of the Pak army with these mediaval weapons. Such a fight was unthinkable yet they were glad to see that masses of Bangladesh were awake. The narrator came back to Ittefak office. Only eight people were in the office waiting for the final hour. At twelve 'O clock in the night they could hear the defening noise of machine guns, heart rending cries of helpless men and sorrowful wailings of mothers, sisters and wives. Thus the hellish dance of the satanic force began in Dacca. In the early morning Sirajbhai and Asfaudullah Reza approached the first floor office just to have a look at the roads of the Capital and saw a military van heading towards them Before they realise anything bullets were fired at them. They promptly laid down on the floor but the canteen boy Samsur Rehman was hit by a bullet from the machine gun. Another surprise was waiting for them Just outside the gate of the office they discovered the deadbody of an unknown man probably that of a hawker. At ten 'O clock in the morning three tanks were seen proceeding towards Razarbagh. Soon after shower of bullets began to be fired towards Ittefak office and with a bomb attack the telephone exchange hall was demolished; the machine-room was burning.

Sirajuddin Hossain and others were miraculously saved that night. Thus the barbarous atrocities continued for day after day, week after week and month after month. On the tenth or December just a week before Independence at 3 a m. in the night Sahajehan Saheb and others came to know that Sirajbhai had been taken away from his house. They were surprised because just about two hours back he had dictated an urgent editorial on phone as directed by the Editor of Ittefaq Janab Minul Hossain Eight to ten Riflemen approached the owner of the House Dr. Samsul Huda for showing the room of Sirajuddin Hossain who was then sleeping in an inside room. He was raised from his sleep and led away in the pitch darkness only with a banian and a lungi on. in the bitter cold of the wintry night. The whole incident took place within a minute or two and before his wife and children could realise anything, the bitter tragedy happened. Thus the life of a dedicated bright son of Bangladesh and one of the top most journalists lost his life at the hands of ruffians. When and how he was killed was never known.

The Ittefaq contributed enormously to the growth of Awami League from a mere sapling to a huge tree with sure foundation on the soil of Bangladesh; and the pillars of the journal were Moinul Hossain, Manik Mia and Sirajul Hossain.

The cruel manner in which Lt. Col. Manjur Rahman, Principal and Professor Halim Khan of Jenidaha Cadet college were done to death is beyond description. After the crackdown of March 25, when the reports of inhuman mass murders reached Jenaidaha, officers and employees of the college led by Prof. Abdul Halim Khan and Professor Safikullar organised a resistance group. They began to work under Major Abu Osman of E.P.R. On March 30. when a company of soldiers belonging to 25 Baluchi Regiment advanced towards Kushtia, Jenaidaha was practically deserted except few brave freedom fighters of the Cadet College. These brave men faced the advancing soldiers and destroyed them to a man. On April Ist. fresh soldiers from Jessore were sent to occupy Jenaidaha. These very men gave a battle to the army and completely defeated them. So went on ding dong battle. But unfortunately after sometimes the Mukti Bahini unit at the town was closed up for operational reasons and Jenaidaha was left completely at the mercy of Khan senas. Everybody left the city but Col. Rahman, Prof. Halim Khan and some of their faithful attendants did not leave their station for their love of the institution. Gazi Khan, the watch man was one of them. One day he was sent by the Principal to inspect the condition of the city. But on his way he was struck by a bullet and the dutiful great soul rolled down the Castle bridge. The barbaric Pak army utilised his body with many other dead bodies like him towards construction of roads. On the same very day, April 16, the occupation force entered the college compound and arrested Col. Rahman and Prof. Halim Khan. They were handcuffed and mercilessly beaten—Later on they were released on the intervention of Brig. Durrani. But on April 18, four truckful of soldiers from Kushtia entered the college led by Captain Iqbal. Some of the Beharis who guided the soldiers, falsely implicated that the Prof. and the Principal had killed their families. Helpless Halim Khan was dragged out to the backyard and repeatedly attacked with bayonets and swords. A promising life was thus nipped in the bud. Then the turn of Col. Rahman came. He protested at the disrespect shown to him by a mere Captain and pointed out that if he was guilty in anyway. he should by tried by military court under the martial law. But nobody cared to hear him, The lion-hearted man then prepared him-self for death. He took out his watch and the keys of the college gate, walked resolutely under. an orange tree where he was shot by bullets one after the other. His last words were "Mother Ayesha I could not see you again". A gardener and a watchman followed their masters to the grave. Assets of the college were looted. The boat of Bangladesh Independence arrived at its destination by wading through a river of blood shed by thousands of such martyrs known and unknown.

Prof. Abdul Khoyer, Prof. of History in Dacca University was a victim of the Albadars. Nobody knows how he was captured or how he was killed On Aug. 13, his sleep was disturbed by the cringing of the door. When he opened the door, five Khan senas accompanied by a Bengali OC entered the room and pointed their rifles towards him. He protested that he was only a teacher and had not harmed anybody. But he could not understand that being a teacher was his principal offence. He was pushed out and detained in different thanas for over a month and a half. Though he was not physically tortured, he was made to undergo extreme mental torture. Indomitable freedom fighters used to be inflicted with wounds by bayonets; streams of blood flooded the floor. But unceasing torture went on till one became unconscious. Then they were killed on the spot. All these happened just before his eyes week after week. Ultimately he was released on 30th September and allowed to carry on his job as a lecturer. Students were few in number but the professor would deliver his lectures which contained inspiring lessons of freedom fights of the past in different countries. Those who wanted to understand, understood the implication of his patriotic lectures. But this proved fatal to him. On December 14, just two days before Independence when the environment of Dacca was exciting, a military truck stopped before his house. Some Albadars were seen to run towards the Prof. who was having a walk in the verandah. Then he disappeared. He was one of the names in the list of hundred who were killed just a day before Independence.

Professor Mofazzal Haidar Chowdhury was a celebrated professor of Bengali in the Dacca University and a famous Bengali author. He passed his B.A. degree with honours in Bengali from the Calcutta University and M.A. degree from Vishwabharati. He was also dragged out of his brothers' house at Santibagh and killed by Albadars on Dec. 14, probably at Mirpur, Mohammadpur. He was the originator of the proposal that the Beharis should not be allowed to concentrate in a particular locality but should be scattered throughout the country. His staunch anti-Behari muslim sentiment was the cause of his murder.

On that very day Professor Santosh Bhattacharya, a professor of history, Dacca University was roused from his seat of worship in his quarters by the Albadars and dragged blind fold to a waiting military truck, Prof. Rashedul Hossain was also in that truck. All of them disappeared and even their dead bodies could not be discovered even after a sustained search.

May we ask Janab Bhutto whether these uncrupulous, inhuman and brutal murders of the devotees of knowledge, by dragging them out of their house were a part of the warfare carried on by his so called brave soldiers ? Was their house a battlefield ? If it was their patriotism and love of their Motherland which were considered a crime, if they were suspected of being sympathisers of the Awaimi League, why were they not arrested and made prisoners of wars ?

Is it to be taken for granted that the Pakistan Army do not believe in making prisoners, or otherwise how could they huddle together hundreds of freedom fighters, taken captive by them, into a tent and then set on fire ? Janab Bhutto talks often and on about Geneva Convention. What international conventions did the Pak army followed in Bangladesh ? What convention did they follow while violating the sanctity of the hospitals, mosques, and educational institutions ?

At the end we may recall the last words of Prof. Munir Chowdhury—the dedicated professor of Bengali in the Dacca University who was also one of the victims of the Albadars on the 14th December "I will not object if the whole world comes to an end, but the criminals who are responsible for the events of March 25, must be punished".

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# They died for their Motherland

## Lt. Commander Moazzem Hossain

Lt. Commander Moazzem Hossain was a co-accused with Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman in the Agartala conspiracy case, and was imprisoned for sometimes in connection with that case. He was a Bengali to the core of his heart. Bangladesh was his dream. At the time of his martyrdom he left behind his wife and three children.

Inspite of repeated request of his wife to flee from the country, he never thought of leaving his post of duty, He firmly said again and again that much work had yet to be done and it would be a bad example if a responsible man like him would leave the station.

While the husband and wife were thus engaged in their conversation one day they saw a military car before their house. The ruffians broke open the door and enquired of Lt. Commander Moazzem Hossain. Everybody was mum. When the brutes were ready to enter the bedroom of Mrs. Hossain, Lt. Col. came out of the side room and intimated his name. On getting him the punjabi soldiers shouted with joy. One of them asked him to shout 'Pakistan Zindabad'. But Lt. Col. Hossain having firmly refused to obey their instruction, the soldiers fired at him. He fell down and floods of blood began to ooze out from his chest. Begum Moazzem Hossain rushed out of her room and held her husband in her breast. The murderer roughly pushed away the mourning wife and carried the dead body out into their car. They departed with diabolical shouts of merriment.

## Serjeant Auyal Hossain

Serjeant Auyal Hossain Mohammed Mahe Alam Chowdhury is an immemorial name in the history of the Bangladesh liberation struggle. He was killed in the thick of the liberation struggle on Nov. 19, 1971. by a combined force of Rajakars and khan senas in a direct clash in Madhavpur of Chittagong. Serjeant Alam belonged to Pakistan Air Force.

Before March 25 he came to see his parents at his native place Ulania in Mehediganj thana of Barisal district. When the news of the Pakistani crackdown of March 25, was received by him, he went to Mujibnagar straightway and enlisted himself as a soldier of the muktibahini. He conducted the guerilla warfare at Anowara in Chittagong and Barisal thana as commander of the forces. He liberated villages after villages after innumerable direct clashes with the Pak invaders. At last his forces reached Madhavpur Union. While fighting heroically with innumerable number of enemy forces a bullet from the Pakistani demons struck him. The Jillani hills is quite near Madhavpur Union. He was cremated there and the hills were renamed Alam hillocks, In Anowara thana a library has also been renamed after him.

## Nazrul Islam

Nazrul Islam is a name to remember as an ideal freedom fighter. He courted martyrdom during the liberation struggle. Hundreds of youngmen—jewels of motherland, had been lost in the struggle. The country is now independent but lakhs of martyrs like Nazrul will not return to the liberated land for which they fought. Abdul Kuddus Makhan, Sheikh Kamal, Abdul Sahid Khan and Nazrul were closely known to each other.

Nazrul Islam was a student of the second year class in the Dacca University with honours in Bengali and was a prominent student leader.

From the very college days he was a believer in the independence of Bangladesh. Nazrul could not tolerate the inhabitants of West Pakistan. He was endowed with all the qualities of a leader—honesty, truthfulness, devotion to duty, Death never held any fear to him and he was always prepared to count death for the liberation of his Motherland. He was on the point of death on many occasions and always took the responsibility for the most dangerous duties which others tried to avoid. When the country was grievously agitated over the postponement of the constituent assembly session by Yahya Khan in March 1971, Nazrul conducted a procession from the Fazlul Haque Hall with the purpose of breaking the curfew order. Near about the Balaka Cinema Hall the procession was fired upon by the Pak army; Nazrul miraculously escaped death by inches. Nazrul had also to court imprisonment on two occasions for his involvement in different movements.

After the sad happenings, Nazrul at first left the country for India but came back to take his military training in Mujib Bahini Training Centre. After training he was made the commander of the Daud kandi Thana area where he confronted the occupation forces with cleverness and tact. But unfortunately when going towards the headquaters of the Mujib Bahini with a report of the operations, he was captured towards the end of October.

Inhuman tortures were inflicted on him to extract confession from him and he was promised release if he could kill Abdul Kuddus Makhan whom Nazrul held in great esteem. On his refusal he was shot down dead in Brahmanbaria on 21/22 Nov. After two days of his death Mukti Bahini fighters broke open the Brahmanbaria jail and released the prisoners. Before death he left a letter stating "I fought against injustice. My death is of no concern but I pray for the return of Bangabandhu to the soil of Bangladesh."

His last wish has been fulfilled—Bangabandu has come back. But Nazrul could not see Independent Bangladesh of his dream. He wrote the history of Bangladesh Liberation with his blood.

## Lt. Col. Dr. S.M. Hie

On the 23rd. of March 1970, Bangladesh flag was flown on the top of every office and court buildings. Bengali soldiers of Jessore Cantonment also were mad with joy and not only lifted the Bangladesh flag with a map of Bangladesh imprinted on it, but gave slogans of 'Joy Bangla', 'Joy Sheikh Mujib'. Brig. Durrani disliked these patriotic feelings among the Bengali soldiers and asked explanation from Dr. S.M. Hie who was commanding the ambulance unit at Jessore, Dr. Hie spiritedly replied, 'If it is not an offence for certain units to give the slogan 'Jai Bhutto', then why should exception be taken of the slogan 'Jai Sheikh Mujib', If it is not an offence to say, 'Jai Sindh', why objection should be raised to 'Jai Bangla.'

On March 26, Bengali soldiers of Jessore Cantonment came to know of the barbarous happenings of March 25, at Dacca. But it was too late to come out as the whole cantonment area was surrounded by the Punjabi soldiers. On 29 March the Pak army celebrated a victory ceremony in the Jessore Cantonment. Even then the Bengali soldiers were not disarmed. On March 30, Dr. Hie left his quarters and informed his wife on phone that the Bengali soldiers had started a warfare against the Pak soldiers. His last words on the phone were 'I leave my children in your care.' On that very night Mrs. Hie came to know that her husband had been slain in direct fight with the enemy. How deep the love of their Motherland was in the hearts of martyrs like Dr. Hie that they did not care for honour, high salaried posts and a secured home of happiness and peace. They rose above affection of their wives and children and sacrificed everything, even their lives for the fulfilment of their dreams—an Independent Bangladesh.

## Lt. Col. Nurul Absar Mohammed Jehangir

On March 19, 1970 an urgent conference of high ranking officers of Coomilla Cantonment was held to discuss the ways and means to completely uproot the young generation of Bangladesh. Brig. Iqbal Safi, Lt. Col. Iaqub Malik and other high ranking officers of the Pak army were present in that conference. It was resolved that revolutionary young men of Bangladesh must be killed by all means as a matter of policy. But Dr. Jehangir firmly protested against the resolution with all his might From that day onward he was forbidden to go outside the cantonment area. On the night of March 25, Col. Jehangir came to understand from a conversation with Brig Safi that a plan had been hatched for cracking down upon the Bengalis. His doubts were confirmed as in the middle of that night peace was disturbed by sounds of machine guns, guns and tanks. The Cantonment area was all ablaze. In the morning Col Jehangir's house could be seen surrounded by Pak army equipped with Artillery guns. Col. Jehangir understood that he had been made captive, so he warned the Bengali soldiers of his units on phone to escape and take part in the liberation struggle. He further advised them to fight like heroes and die like heroes.

When he came out of his house to join his men, the Pak soldiers informed him that he had been ordered not to go outside. On march 29 he came to know that Lt. Col. Shahnur had been killed at the hands of the Bengalee soldiers at Kumia in Chittagong. On the next day Pakistani ruffians dragged him to a military car and drove away. Before his diparture he handed over his pistol to his wife for self protection and said that these brutes would take revenge of the death of Sahanur on him. No trace of him could be found later. But it was reported that most of the officers and men of Coomilla cantonment were mercilessly killed. These included among others Col. Jehangir, Lt. Faruk. Captain Huda, Captain Badrul Alam. Major Islam, Major Khaleque, Major Mahidul Zamal. After liberation, skeletions of these dead heroes were recovered from the mass graves and laid to rest by the Bangladesh govt. with full military honours.

## Sirajul Islam

Sirajul Islam was a student of the B.A. second year (Arts) of Kishorganj Gurdyal college. Towards the beginning of April he was appointed as a group commander of sub-sector Tyakerghat after his training at a Mukti Fouz Training Centre. He was known for his daring acts and his consistent operations against the occupation forces. Sirajul had been responsible for blowing up bridges and destroying communication systems of the enemy innumerable Khan senas had been killed by him.

On Aug. 8, Sirajul along with the men of his Mukti Fouz attacked the invaders at Sachna, Sunamganj, and completely defeated them, 36 soldiers of the Pak army were killed and six taken prisoners. Sachna was liberated after this glorious victory. But unfortunately while returning to the camp he was hit by a bullet from an escaping Pak soldier. He was taken to Tyakerghat where he expired. Sachna was renamed Sirajnagar.

Before proceeding to the Sachna operation in which he courted martyrdom he wrote a letter to his old father from Tyakerghat on July 30. This letter reveals the sentiments not only of Sirajul Islam but all freedom fighters of Bangladesh.

"I consider my life as insignificant because life has no value unless our country is independent. Death can come to me at any moment, but death does no longer hold any fear for me. Do not adopt the policy of Mirzaffars as Mukti Fouz will not tolerate them and there will be no place for them in independent Bangladesh."

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# MUSIC OF THE SINKING SHIPS

*Major Rafikul Islam (Retired)*

IT WAS 15th August, 1971. They were forty boys—all between thirteen and nineteen. They had arrived in Charlekha—a village on the river bank oppoi te to the Chittagong port, disguising themselves in the darkness of the night. This young group had taken, their extremely difficult training in West Bengal about naval operations in the river. On August 10, they entered Bangladesh from near about Subhpur bridge. Each one of the members of the group were well aware of his targets and his duty. They came prepared for death a true friend who, they knew, would never betray them. Each one had with him a magnetic mine, commonly known as 'Limipet'. leader had a receiver set through which they got instructions from time to time. The young contingent travelled only through night hiding the mins, in the gunny bags. They crossed the Karnafuli river by twos and threes. Freedom fighters in Chittagong town concealed the mines in the rice bags, or vegetable baskets or fish baskets and despatched them to Charlekha. Extremely clever Pakistani sentries or their agents could not at all suspect a transaction of this nature. The group already got a signal-a much known Bengali song, to be perpared for the operation but for unavoidable reason they could not proceed that night. On the 15th of August at 1 A.M. they received the signal again. Their hearts were throbbing with excitement. They checked themselves again and rehearsed their individual parts. The port area on the other side were flooded with light. A large number of watchmen were all alert. But they could only see some water hyacinth floating in the river water.

MV Armad had arrived in the Chittagong port from Karachi on August 14, carrying 9910 tons of weapons and ammunitions and was berthed in No. 13 jetty. Before that AL Abbas was berthed in no 12 jetty with 10418 tons of arms and ammunitions on Aug. 8. Besides these, Orient barge No. 6 was anchored near the fish port ready to start for Dacca with 276 tonnes of military equipments. In the navel jetty there were two boats and a barge. Just after the setting of evening the two-boats started on its rounds towards the sea. This was very unfortunate for the boys as they missed two of its preys.

At about 1-15 A.M. a mine was exploded. Although it made an almost inaudible sound, yet the sentries became more watchful. But they could not imagine that just before their very nose the boys had struck the mines, that they reached the spot after swiming through the turbulent river from the eastern bank. It was also beyond their imagination that the heroic freedom fighters were swiming back far away from the scene of incident. The contingent swam to the eastern bank and in the darkness of the night began their journey towards their shelter in Patia. The sarengs of No. 6 barge were all sound asleep. At 1-40 A.M. Aug. 16-according to English calender, the port of Chittagong as well as the city of Chittagong was shocked, as if by an earth quake...by a tremendous explosions. MV Armed was sinking. The sentries were firing bullets from their rifles haphazardly in all directions. After twelve minutes there was another explosion. This time Al Abbas was going down in the waters. Their sounds of explosion could heard one after another. Althrough the night the sentries emptied their rifles with shots after shots. The news of sinking of the ships spread through the city wild fire. Pakistani soldiers ransacked the villages on the eastern bank like so many enranged wild animals. Curfew was imposed in the river and port area. Helicopters were in the sky. The barbaric soldiers of the occupation army had set fire to the villages on the eastern bank. Hundreds of innocent fisherman were most brutally killed. The news was broadcast from all the stations of the world.

The heroic act and the manner in which it was performed can easily be classed as one of the most successful operations in guerilla warfares in the history of guerilla war anywhere in the world,

When the Pak army was smouldering with anger forty boys of the daring contingent were happily sleeping in Patia. The success they had earned was hardly achievable by any body else. These heroes were determined and disciplined to the last as they knew that there could not be more glorious death than courting death for liberating their Motherland.

This is not a solidtary, isolated incident, the whole liberation struggle is full of such death defying brave acts of the freedom fighters.

# Crimes Against Women

*Correspondent*

CRIMES against women are nothing new. From time immemorial stories of oppressions on women in all countries of the world, during wars or social upheavals, could be heard. History is a silent witness of inhuman cruelties on women during the times of Nadir Shah, Chengiz Khan and on Rajput women in the middle ages. But history has no precedent of the bestial oppressions carried out by the hordes of Yahya Khan during 1971. Even the pre-historic men of the cave-age might have some conscience but the Pakistan army was absolutely bereft of any conscience and were worse than animals. We remember the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Tazuddin Ahmed having said, "It is an insult to the dogs to compare them with the Pak soldiers". Nothing can be truer than that.

These animals compelled housewives and young girls of rural Bengal to move about before them stark naked. Mothers and daughters were made to stand in one line before their husbands or fathers. They were raped before the very eyes of their husbands and parents. Dozens of these brutes raped the same girl one after the other before she became unconcious. After satisfying their lust they were either killed or taken to the cantonments or their bunkers. They had forcibly taken away daughters by killing the fathers with bayonet. Leaving aside the question of rape, these animals carried out innumerable other horrible repression on women. Cutting away of breasts of women was simply a plaything to them. They pierced the pregnant women with their bayonets to bring out the embryo. The sky of Bangladesh is now heavy with their heart-rending wailings. Those who died are comparatively blessed but condition of those who are doomed to live are most wretched and pitiable. Future of an unmarried girl who had been a prey of the Yahya hordes is pitch dark. She will never be able to have a happy home surrounded by her dear and near ones. She can have no hope of the blessedness of a married life, or have any children. Married women, who were the queen of their house-hold, are now reduced to beggars in the streets.

Dr. Geofrey David, a surgeon of Sidney holds out a horrible picture of these unfortunate women. According to offical records the number of women raped by the Khan senas is two lakhs. This was based on the fact that the occupation forces were in authority for 270 days over 480 Thanas and there were two women missing each day on an average. Dr. David holds that the number is much under-rated. He thinks that the number is between 4 lakhs and 4 lakhs 30 thousand because no records were kept of women whose honours were insulted during the movement of the troops from village to village. Number of pregnant women is alone 2 lakhs.

Relatives of those who committed suicide upto April suppressed the fact altogether. Many of the girls were taken by the invaders into the military camps for satisfying their recurring lust. When they became pregnant or attacked with some diseases they were either killed or abandoned.

Before any help could reach these helpless women. majority of them performed abortion with the help of the untrained nurses. Many of the remaining committed suicides but many others decided to keep the baby with them.

Many of the hospitals were wrecked by the occupation force. Moreover defective propaganda, hesitating and unprogressive medical systems coupled with non-availability of sufficient quantity of anti-biotics in most of the clinics hampered timely treatment.

Moreover inspite of repeated declarations from the Prime Minister's Secretariat that abortion in such circumstances was legal, majority of the doctors were hesitant or reluctant to operate on these cases instead of coming forward to the help of the injured women. They were more concerned with the legality of the problems rather than technicality of the operations. This conservative outlook by doctors is regrettable.

In some areas girls of 12 to 13 years age were raped after removing the saris from their bodies, so that they might not fly away or commit suicide. It had been observed that whenever these girls were allowed to wear their saris, they committed suicide. Many of these miserable girls jumped into the river below from the bridges with heavy stones tied on their backs. Those who had been able to save their lives were abandoned by their families on the ground that their modesty was outraged, that they were pregnant and that they looked unclean. How piteous these refusals were ! Dr David narrated an incident that he had seen a woman hailing from Chittagong. She was a widow whose home had been destroyed in the war. She had six children and was pregnant. After abortion the woman had no place to live in, no resources to bring up six children, Another woman was raped by the Khan senas in the absence of her husband who joined the Mukti Bahini. When the husband on return saw her wife pregnant, he left home leaving behind his wife and childern. Another illiterate girl of nineteen was six months with child. She was refused

( *Contd. on Page* 51 )

# Achievements of Bangladesh Since Independence

THE greatest achievement of Bangladesh after Independence is to prepare a Constitution within a year of independence and to hold a general election according to it. The general election can be interpreted as a referendum on the issue of the constitution as well as the Awami League policy of Mujibbad—principles of Nationalism, democracy, socialism and secularism. The massive support (291 seats out of 299) given by the people is the endorsement of this policy by the mass of the people. Another point in this connection is that due to the dynamic leadership of Mujibur Rehman, 91 countries of the world have recognised the new State.

Apart from the political achievements Bangladesh can be proud of other achievements in the field of Rehabilitation, Transport, Housing, Land Reforms, Food, Education, Health, Tele-communication and reconstruction of Industrial policy. And all these within a short period of one year.

**Rehabilitation**

The liberation war in Bangladesh added a glorious chapter to the history of freedom-loving peoples of the world. But the price paid by the people of this country is unprecedented. The barbarous Pakistan army killed about 30 lakh people and rendered about 2,70,000 children and 2,00,000 women orphan or destitute. Over 8,000 villages were completely destroyed and no less than 23 lakh houses worth about 320 crore taka were demolished. Another 20 lakh houses were partly damaged Innumerable market places, business centres, schools and colleges and vital communication links including bridges and culverts were also destroyed causing a serious blow to the economic infrastructure of the new state. There was perhaps not a single family or establishment which escaped the wrath of the Pakistan army.

The magnitude of the misery can be gauged from the fact that at liberation about 2 crore displaced persons needed to be provided with free ration for months to save them from imminent death. They were also to be provided with shelter, clothing, medicines and other essential supplies for their survival. Loss of employment for a vast number of people shook the very foundation of the country's rural economy.

It was on the debris of such colossal destruction that the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation embarked upon the enormous task of social and economic rehabilitation of almost the whole population. The immediate task was to bring back one crore evacuees from India and provide them with food, shelter, medical care and other relief. Similar arrangement had to be made for two crore people inside Bangladesh who had been uprooted from their homes and became refugees in their own country. Despite heavy odds, the bulk of the refugees from India was brought back within a short time through 284 transit points.

The Ministry has so far spent nearly 80 crore taka in the shape of house-building grant, cash relief, assistance for education and housing for the economic rehabilitation of the affected millions. The Government also distributed free one crore 68 lakh maunds of food. The relief goods, cash money and foodgrains were distributed through the relief committees operating the district down to the village level.

**Test Relief**

Unemployment in the rural areas posed a major problem. To create employment for the people the Government sanctioned 27 crore 63 lakh taka for a massive test relief programme involving 68,000 schemes for repair of roads, culverts and small bridges and construction of embankments. A total of 65,000 miles of *kutcha* roads have also been constructed and repaired. About two lakh acres of agricultural land have derived direct benefit out of this programme.

**Rehabilitation of Women and Orphans**

A large number of women were affected by the brutalities committed by the Pak army. They needed to be rehabilitated in a manner as would enable them to lead life as respectable members of the society. With this end in view, the National Board of Bangladesh Women's Rehabilitation drew up 17 schemes. These included the setting up of a pilot rehabilitation home, a *shilpayan*, 4 vocational training centres, 7 sewing, handicraft and cottage industry centres and a multipurpose training institute. The Relief Ministry has so far sanctioned one crore 5 lakh take for the implementation of these schemes. More projects are being worked out.

### Housing

At a cost of 9 crore 40 lakh taka the ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation started construction of 2 lakh 76 thousand *kutcha* houses for the relief of the homelesr people. Seventy six thousand houses are being built at Comilla, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Sylhet and 2 lakh houses in the remainig 14 districts. India is supplying shelter materials worth 1 crore 36 lakh taka as grant. A seperate programme for constructing 5,000 *pucca* houses has been taken up by the Ministry of Public Works & Urban Development in urban areas at a cost of one crore taka.

### Transport

There was an acute shortage of transport throughout Bangladesh because of the destruction caused during the war. India provided 662 trucks, 204 jeeps and 140 ambulances. All the vehicles were pressed into relief work. UNROD provided 449 trucks for moving foodgrains. It also supplied 12 sea-trucks and 20 ambulances. UNROD also brought in, on a temporary basis, 25 mini-bunkers, 19 tugs, 6 harges, 5 coastal tankers and 11 aircraft of different description, USSR provided 4 helicoptors which are being utilised for transportation of foodgrains and other relief materials.

### Industrial Planning

The Government in a statutory order on the 31st January, 1972, spelled out the organisational set up for planning and economic policy-making in Bangladesh.

One of the first tasks of the Planning Commission thus created was to provide a framework of priorities for the Government's non-revenue expenditure in the variour sectors of the economy and to indicate as to how it could be financed.

The overall size of the Annual Plan for 1972-73 is Tk. 501/- crores (development) outlay Tk. 314/50 crores, reconstruction outlay Tk. 116/70 crores, relief and rehabilitation outlay Tk. 66/- crores and reserve for additional schemes Tk. 3/80 crores (with an external resources component of Tk. 375/- crores).

In March this year, enterprises numbering 254 and accounting for over three quarters of assets in the modern industrial sector, were nationalised. Along with this, all banking and insurance companics except those owned by foreigners were also nationalised so that the commanding heights of the capitalist system in Bangladesh were brought under the control of the people. Also by June the workers of the nationalised industrial sector were made full partners in the management and benefits of the nationalised enterprises.

The historic nationalisation decree of the 26th March when the Government nationalised the bulk of the industrial sector, as a result of which nearly 85% of the assets in the modern industrial sector are now owned by the people of Bangladesh. A comprehensive system of management was articulated which involved the establishment of 10 Sector Corporations under which different groups of industries were placed.

### Private Sector

(1) Private enterprise will be limited to units with fixed assets not exceeding Tk. 25 lakhs. They will be allowed to grow upto Tk. 35 lakhs through reinvested profits.

(2) There will be a moratorium on nationalisation for ten years from the date of publication of this policy for old units upto Tk. 25 lakhs and from the date of going into production for new units set up during the First Five Year Plan.

(3) Government reserves the right to nationalise any industrial enteprise which is continuously making loss or under-utilising its installed capacity due to neglect or mismanagement of the owners.

(4) Manufacture of arms and ammunition shall be prohibited in the private sector.

### Dispersal of Industries

New industries will be dispersed throughout Bangladesh. In the setting up of new industries, preference will be given to areas where fewer or no industries are located. Government would provide guidelines for geographical dispersal of industries to the agencies concerned with the sanctioning of private investments from time to time.

## LAND REFORM

With supreme concern for the poor peasants of the country, the Government took a number of bold decisions without any loss of time to reform land administration. Exemption of land revenue for families owning agricultural land upto 25 bighas, remission of arrear land revenue upto the end of last Bengali year, fixing a new ceiling for agricultural holdings and distribution of surplus land among the landless peasants were some of the decisions.

The decision to remit arrear of land revenue alone cost the Government over 36 crores of taka—and nearly 60 lakh certificate proceedings against the tenants for the recovery of arreas dues were dropped. The peasants standing in the midst of colossal destruction wrought by the barbarous Pakistani army heaved a great sigh of relief.

The Government have fixed the ceiling of land holding at 100 bighas (33.00 acres) in the aggregate. The land in excess of the ceiling will be acquired by the Government and settled among landless agricultural families and those owning less than one and a half acres of land will be available as excess as a result of the enforcement of this ceiling.

**Exemption upto 25 Bighas**

With a view to giving relief to small farmers, the Government have exempted agricultural families owning land upto 25 bighas (8.25 acres) from payment of land revenue It is estimated that about 99 per cent of the agricultural families own land of this ceiling and together they hold 90 per cent of the total agricultural land.

**Food Front**

The Government of Bangladesh elected for the first alternative to save millions from a famine which became almost an inevitable reality as a result of the colossal demage and destruction wrought by the barbaric armed forces of Pakistan.

The Ministry was faced with a fastdepleting food stock, damaged soils and godowns and a disrupted communication system. The task of maintaining food supplies for the statutory rationing, modified rationing and marketing operation assumed a gigantic magnitude. But it set out to mobilise all available but inadequate resources to carry food to the people right upto the village.

Since liberation, firm commitments for nearly 27 lakh tons of foodgrains including purchase by government have been received against a total shortfall of 30 lakh tons. Of this, more than 21,00,000 tons have so far been received and the balance is in the pipelines. With the gradual improvement of stock the off-take is increasing every month.

Nearly 45 per cent of the total population is now covered by the statutory and modified rationing as against only 15 to 18 per cent prior to independence. More than six lakh people of the industrial and port town of Khulna as well as the people of Banani model town in Dacca were brought under full rationing in September.

**Education**

During our war of liberation, the Pakistan occupation army killed or maimed over 1,000 teachers and destroyed or damaged no less than 30,000 educational institutions. About 300 vehicles of educational institutions and valuable belongings of teachers and students were also destroyed or looted.

The destructions casued to the educational sector is estimated at taka 135 crores.

Since liberation, the Bangladesh Government have spent from their own resources about taka 10 crores for the relief and rehabilitation of the teaching community, the students and the educational institutions. The families of the shaheeds or disabled teachers have been given grants at the rate of taka 1000/- for primary school teachers, 2000/- for secondary school teachers, 3000/- for college teachers and 5000/- for university teachers. Lump grants have also been given to non-government schools and colleges at the rate of taka 3000/- for junior high schools, 5000/- for high schools, 8000/- for intermediate colleges and 10,000/- for degree colleges.

**Health**

After liberation, the country faced a number of challenging health problems, all demanding priority attention. The highest priority was of course given to protecting public health against epidemics which were apprehended to be inevitable in the wake of total disruption in the health services, widespread malnutrition and acute shortage of vaccines and medicines. The Ministry of Health and Family Planning, so named after liberation to give due importance to population control, quickly recruited about 450 people to carry on mass vaccination against smallpox. Similar measures were taken to prevent cholera and malaria. The public health laboratories in Dacca worked day and night to produce nearly 9 crore doses of vaccine to fight smallpox and cholera.

The Government also issued immediate licences for importing 5 crore 50 lakh takas worth of medicines during the first shipping period, *i.e.* upto the end of June this year.

**Treatment of War Victims**

The treatment and eare of the war-crippled posed a challenging problem for the Government. Several thousand of our youngmen suffered injuries of varied nature and many became handicapped. Many of them have been receiving treatment in civilian and military hospitals in India. After victory, a large number of patients were admitted in the district and medical college hospitals. A 230-bed extension hospital was added to Dacca Medical College and another hospital was opened in Shere Bangla Nagar in Dacca to accommodate 250 of such patients. A workshop for making artificial limbs with the help of international agencies has been built up as part of this hospital. A third new hospital was set up in Dacca to accommodate about 100 injured freedom fighters.

**Hospitals Beds**

There were only 8,000 hospital beds in Bangladesh prior to liberation. Since liberation 5,000 new beds have been added by setting up new hospitals and increasing beds in the existing hospitals in the country.

**Integrated Thana Health and Family Planning Complexes**

To ensure better health and family planning services for the nation the Government have undertaken a programme to set up 356 integrated health complexes at the thana level. Each complex will be under a thana health administrator and integrate the Services of health visitors, malaria eradicators, smallpox vaccinators, health assistants and midwives. Each complex will have a 25-bed general hospital and a 6-bed maternity hospital attached to it. All these hospitals are expected to be built during the next 5 years. The rural health centres will also be brought under the integrated thana health and family planning scheme. At present there are 156 rural health centres. Fiftytwo new centres are being set up this year. Another 152 will be built in the near future. The Government have allocated 10 crores taka for the construction of the centres during the current financial year. Each rural health centres will have a family planning clinic attached to it.

**Telecommunication**

Prior to liberation, the planning and development of T & T was controlled from Karachi and Rawalpindi and the needs of Bangladesh used to get very little priority. This resulted in haphazard growth and the long distance network remained completely neglected. A high-capacity long distance circuit between Dacca--Khulna and Dacca—Chittagong was planned as far back as 1960 but it could not be commissioned even upto March 1971. The high-capacity Dacca—Sylhet, Dacca—Bogra, Dacca—Mymenshigh, Kushtia—Rajshahi and Kushtia—Bogra—Rangpur links were planned as early as 1965.

**First Five-Year Plan**

During the preparation of the Plan, the T & T department has fixed priorities for the following:—

Completion of the high-capacity links; providing telecom. facilities to the cyclone-prone areas; expansion of the automatic telephone exchanges; expansion of telex and gentex network; expansion of STD service; conversion of mannual exchanges into automatic; installation of exchanges at than a headquarters; and providing facilities at union level.

In planning this expansion programme, an annual growth rate of twenty percent has been set as a target. If this growth can be maintained, it is expected that by the end of the first plan, the number of telephones will increase to two per thousand. The total number of telephones will be about one lakh and sixty-five thousand by the end of 1978. There will be multi-exchanges in Dacca, Chittagong and Khulna. The existing automatic exchanges in other areas will also be expanded. A scheme has been taken in hand to convert the existing manual exchanges at district and sub-divisional headquarters and also at some other important places into automatic systems.

**Telegraph Service**

Before liberation, there were one hundred-line telex exchange at Dacca and two thirty-line telex exchanges at Chittagong and Khulna. The Khulna telex exchange was, however, destroyed by the occupation army before their surrender. It is now proposed to install about eight thousand line telex exchanges in different areas of the country. Also, a large number of leased teleprinter circuits will be provided to government, semi-government and commercial agencies.

**Merchant Navy**

With a wide open warm-water sea at her command, Bangladesh is indeed in a happy position to develop a well-organised merchant navy. The country is also in need of such a navy to carry her large exports and imports without depending on foreign liners.

Although Pakistan developed a sizeable fleet of 71 merchant ships, mostly out of the foreign exchange earnings of the then East Pakistan, at the liberation Bangladesh was left with no occan-going

*(Contd. on page 41)*

*From the pages of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*

# Fundamental Principles of State Policy

**Fundamental principles**

(1) The principles of nationalism, socialism, together with the principles derived from them as set out in this Part, shall constitute the fundamental principles of state policy.

(2) The principles set out in this Part shall be fundamental to the governance of Bangladesh, shall be applied by the State in the making of laws, shall be a guide to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the other laws of Bangladesh, and shall form the basis of the work of the State and of its citizens, but shall not be judicially enforceable.

**Nationalism**

9. The unity and solidarity of the Bengalee nation, which, deriving its identity from its language and culture, attained sovereign and independent Bangladesh through a united and determined struggle in the war of independence, shall be the basis of Bangalee nationalism.

**Socialism and freedom from exploitation**

10. A socialist economic system shall be established with a view to ensuring the attainment of a just and egalitarian society, free from the exploitation of man by man.

**Democracy and human rights**

11. The Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedoms and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person shall be guaranteed, and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels shall be ensured.

**Secularism and freedom of religion**

12. The principle of secularism shall be realised by the elimination of :—

(*a*) Communalism in all its forms ;

(*b*) the granting by the State of political status in favour of any religion ;

(*c*) the abuse of religon for political purposes ;

(*d*) and discrimination against, or persecution of, persons practising a particular religion.

**Principles of ownership**

13. The people shall own or control the instruments and means of production and distribution, and with this end in view ownership shall assume the following forms :—

(*a*) state ownership, that is ownership by the State on behalf of the people through the creation of an efficient and dynamic nationalised public sector embracing the key sectors of the economy ;

(*b*) co-operative ownership, that is ownership by co-operatives on behalf of their members within such limits as may be prescribed by law ; and

(*c*) private ownership, that is ownership by individuals within such limits as may be prescribed by law.

**Emancipation of peasants and workers**

14. It shall be a fundamental responsibility of the State to emancipate the toiling masses—the peasants and workers—and backward sections of the people from all forms of exploitation.

**Provision of basic necessities**

15. It shall be a fundamental responsibility of the State to attain, through planned economic growth, a constant increase of productive forces and a steady improvement in the material and cultural standard of living of the people, with a view to securing to its citizens :—

(*a*) the provision of the basic necessities of life, including food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care ;

(*b*) the right to work, that is the right to guaranteed employment at a reasonable wage having regard to the quantity and quality of work ;

(*c*) the right to reasonable rest, recreation and leisure ; and

(*d*) the right to social security, that is to say to public assistance in cases of undeserved want arising from unemployment, illness or disablement, or suffered by widows or orphans or in old age, or in other such cases.

**Rural development and agricultural revolution**

16. The State shall adopt effective measures to bring about a radical transformation in the rural areas through the promotion of an agricultural revolution, the provision of rural electrification, the development of cottage and other industries, and the improvement of education, communications and public health, in those areas, so as progressively to remove the disparity in the standards of living between the urban and the rural areas.

### Free and compulsory education

17. The State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of :—

(*a*) establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law ;

(*b*) relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs.

(*c*) removing illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law.

### Public health and morality

18. (1) The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties, and in particular shall adopt effective measures to prevent the consumption, except for medicinal purposes or for such other purposes as may be prescribed by law. of alcoholic and other intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.

(2) The State shall adopt effective measures to prevent prostitution and gambling.

### Equality of opportunity

19. (1) The State shall endeavour to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens.

(2) The State shall adopt effective measures to remove social and economic inequality between man and man to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens. and of opportunities in order to attain a uniform level of economic development throughout the Republic.

### Work as right and duty

20. (1) Work is a right, a duty and a matter of honour for every citizen who is capable of working, and everyone shall be paid for his work on the basis of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work".

(2) The State shall endeavour to create conditions in which, as a general principle, persons shall not be able to enjoy unearned incomes, and in which human labour in every form, intellectual and physical, shall become a fuller expression of creative endeavour and of the human personality.

### Duties of citizens and of public servants

21. (1) It is the duty of every citizen to observe the Constitution and the laws, to maintain discipline, to perform public duties and to protect public property.

(2) Every person in the service of the Republic has a duty to strive at all times to serve the people.

### Separation of judiciary from the executive

22. The State shall ensure the separation of the judiciary from the executive organs of the State.

### National culture

23. The State shall adopt measures to conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of the people, and so to foster and improve the national language, literature and the arts that all sections of the people are afforded the opportunity to contribute towards and to participate in the enrichment of the national culture.

### National monuments, etc.

24. The State shall adopt measures for the protection against disfigurement, damage or removal of all monuments, objects or places of special artistic or historic importance or interest.

### Promotion of international peace, security and solidarity

25. The State shall base its international relations on the principles of respect for national sovereignty and equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peaceful settlement of international disputes, and respect for international law and the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter, and on the basis of those principles shall :—

(*a*) strive for the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and for general and complete disarmament ;

(*b*) uphold the right of every people freely to determine and build up its own social, economic and political system by ways and means of its own free choice ; and

(*c*) support oppressed peoples throughout the world waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism or racialism.

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(*Contd. from page 39*)

vessels. The barbarous Pakistani army, before surrender, destroyed not only roads, bridges, railway tracks and carriages but also severely demaged a large number of inland vessels.

Bangladesh government took the decision to nationalise the shipping and setting up the Bangladesh Shipping corporation.

To fill the immediate vaccum, the Corporation entered into one year agreement with its Indian counterpart to take the assistance of Indian shipping for foreign trade. The Indian Shipping Corporation also agreed to train about 50 engineering and navigation personnel.

### Future Plan

The Bangladesh Shipping Corporation proposes to acquire during the first five-year plan period, *i.e.* 1973-78 14 second-hand cargo vessels, 11 new cargo vessels and 3 new tankers. The aquisition of these vessels will involve an investment of about 12 crores—40 lakh U.S. dollars.

**(By Courtsey of Govt. of Bangladesh)**

# People's Republic of Bangladesh Today

**Sheel Bhadra Yajee,**
*(Working President of the All India Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Association)*

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN declared sovereign independent People's Republic of Bangladesh on March 26, 1971. President General Yahya Khan ordered the West Pakistan army units to launch a major break-through and restore fully the authority of his government in the turbulent Eastern wing. In a radio broadcast the same day, he charged Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with committing an act of treason and banned all political activities in Pakistan. The Awami League, which had earlier emerged as a majority party in the National Assembly, was clamped down outlawed. Martial Law was clamped down and strict censorship of press was imposed extending to the expulsion of all foreign correspondents from East Bengal. And thus massive repression was let loose upon the people of Bangladesh.

On March 28, the Swadhin Bangladesh radio announced the formation of a provisional government of Bangladesh army chief Major Zia Khan. Subsequently, Shiekh Mujibur Rahman was named the President and Sayed Nazrul Islam the Vice-President of a six member government. The Awami League leader, Tazuddin Ahmed was sworn in as the Prime Minister and five others as members of the Cabinet. On April 17, 1971 Bangladesh was proclaimed a Republic with Nazrul Islam as the acting President. Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed announced that the Bangladesh Government was "not just an idea, not a dream but a hard reality and that it exists and functioning effectively within Bangladesh territory."

The Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra reported on March 29, 1971 that the Pakistani army, airforce and navy had massacred three lakhs people and urged free nations of the world to come forward to check this genocide. It said that the people of Bangladesh were fighting a war against injustice and exploitation and for human rights and liberties. It appealed to India and Ceylon to help the freedom fighters in the interests of survival of humanity and democracy endangered by the brutal invaders".

Just after the declaration of Sovereign Independent People' Republic of Bangladesh by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman on March 26, 1971, the "All India Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Association" was formed and in its first meeting the Association recognised the People's Republic of Bangladesh and urged upon the Indian Union Government and all the socialist and democratic governments of the world to recognise Bangladesh and to help the Bangladesh liberation struggle with men and materials. On behalf of the All India Indo-Bengladesh Friendship Association, Dr. Triguna Sen, M.P., the President, myself, the working president, Shri Debnath Das (I.N.A), the Vice-president, Shri Debotosh Das Gupta, the General Secretary, Shri Malay Brahmchari and the other office bearers and members of the Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Association visited the Bangladesh youth centres and the liberation army training camps on the borders of Bangladesh and India with the help of the Indian Union Government and helped the Bangladesh liberation army to drive out the Pakistani invaders from the sacred soils of Bangladesh and ultimately after the attack of Pakistani army on India. Our patriotic Indian army and the Bangladesh liberation army joined together and within fourteen days" heroic fights of Indian army and the Bangladesh liberation army against the Pakistani army, Bangladesh was completely liberated despite the open American and Chinese backing for the Pakistani aggression and the provocation by units of the 7th U.S. Fleet in the gulf of Bengal. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, exclaimed before the Indian Parliament, "Dacca is now the free capital of a free country", During the Bangladesh liberation struggle, three million Bangladesh freedom-loving people have been murdered, 30 million people became shelterless, two lakh Bangladesh women were raped and ten million people came to India as refugees and the India's great sacrifices were not in vain.

The present People's Republic of Bangladesh is 55, 126.59 sq. miles in area and its population is about seven and half crores. It is full of rivers and the lands are very fertile. After its liberation from the Pakistani yoke, the country is progressing under the able and inspiring leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his Awami League party.

The recent Bangladesh parliamentary elections were fought by the Awami League on the four state-principles of Nationalism, Democracy, Secularism and Socialism and the freedom loving people of Bangladesh gave to their leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party the Awami League a massive and unprecedented support. The sweeping victory of Awami League had given a slap to the Pakistani President Z.A. Bhutto who had insulted the people of Bangladesh day in and day out by describing them as Muslim Bengalees and talked of reunification of Bangladesh and Pakistan.

On the happy day of the celebration of the anniversasy of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, we, of the Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Association salute Mujibur Rahman, his cabinet collegues, his Awami League Party and all the seven and half crore freedom loving people of Bangladesh and urge upon them to quickly implement the socialist programmes included in the election manifesto of the Awami League.

It is our sincere desire that the existing friendship and cordiality between India and Bangladesh would further grow and increase in spite of the sinister conspirary of the neo-imperialists and thei henchmen.

**Jai Bangla Jai Hind.**
**Jai Bangladesh Jai Bharat.**

# Indira Gandhi, Outstanding Leader of Contemporary India

### *Dr. Bobojan Gafurov*

The following article is an abridged and summarised version of an essay by Dr. Bobojan Gafurov which appears in a booklet just issued bo the Soviet Land Nehru Award Committee, which also carries three other essays by him on: 1) Jawaharlal Nehru: Great Humanist, 2) 25-years of Indian Independence and 3) Peaceful co-existence and National Liberation Movement.

Dr. Gafurov is a prominent Soviet public figure, a well-known scholar, historian and Orientalist. He is the author of over 100 scholarly works. In 1968 he was given the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for promoting Indo-Soviet relations. He is at present Director of the Institue of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. —Editor. ]

ONLY SEVEN years have passed since Mrs. Indira Gandhi became head of the Government of India. Yet, think of this eventful period and its impact on the life of India !

The Soviet people rejoice at every achievement of the friendly Indian people scored in their efforts for national regeneration and social progress, particularly the positive changes in the last few years under the courageous and skilful guidance of Mrs. Gandhi.

By the middle of the '60s when she became Prime Minister, new requirements for India's development became particularly acute. They were the result of the country's achievements in the years of independence, as well as of the contradictions in its social life.

## Growth Imperative

The legitimate and growing economic and social demands of the masses made it quite clear that it was imperative to set up the rates of economic growth, prevent any further sharpening of socio-economic inequalities, and introduce further social reforms. In the acute and tense political struggle which developed in the second half of the '60s (a struggle which determined India's destiny for many years and which, naturally, had a very great international importance), Mrs. Gandhi played a truly historic part. Her progressive outlook, personal courage, and political skill made it possible to mobilise the healthy forces of the nation, to strengthen the progressive principles and trends of development of independent India, and thereby open the way for further progress.

Since then India has covered a long and difficult historical road, as it has ascended the steps of progress, perhaps not as fast as its vanguard forces would have liked, but invariably with great firmness. Mrs. Gandhi has not only continued the traditons of the Indian liberation movement and of her father, but also deepened them and caried them forward. In Nehru's times, the foundations for industrialisation were laid, mainly through the construction by the state industrial enterprises, primarily, of heavy industry. This led to the creation of the impressive public sector, which has concentrated in it about half the total investments in organised industry, and which has a commanding position in a number of key branches serving, at the present stage, as an important factor for the country's further progressive socio-economic development.

## Favourable Correlation

With a new, more favourable correlation of the socio-political forces, in the establishment of which Mrs. Gandhi has played an outstanding part, her government has been and still is carrying out measures for further development of the public sector, measures which had been contemplated by Jawaharlal Nehru, but which could not be implemented in his life time. This includes the nationalisation of large banks, and a number of other steps to strengthen the positions of the public sector. The important 25th amendment to the Constitution, facilitating further socio-economic transformations, is an important step in this direction.

The Indian economy still remains "mixed". Yet, it should be remembered that Jawaharlal Nehru described the mixed economy, as far back as 1948, as a "temporary" phenomenon. Mrs. Gandhi has stated that along with the advantage of higher production and employment resulting from private enterprise activities, including those of the big firms, "mixed economy has many faults and certainly it does not mean that a small number of business houses should take advantage of the situation". At the same time, Mrs. Gandhi has particularly stressed that economic growth should be accompained by social justice. "The overriding inspiration must be a burning sense of social justice...The benefits of development should accure in an increasing measure to the common man and the wider sections of society, so that the forces of production can be fully unleashed", she had said. In India, one can often hear people say about the Prime Minister : "This woman means business."

The preparation being made by Mrs. Gandhi's government for new agrarian reforms are also quite important, It is common knowledge that the agrarian reforms of the '50s abolished only certain feudal rights of the higher echelons of feudal lords, while they continued to retain their large landed estates. "The cracks which have appeared in the agrarian structure cannot be papered over," she had observed. The government has approved the recommendations of the Commission on agrarian reforms (1971) on the fixing of a new ceiling for land holdings. A consistent implementation of these recommendations would mean an important positive change in the life of the Indian countryside. Virtually for the first time after independence, and perhaps for the first time in Indian history, an attempt is being made for a substantial redistribution of the land in favour of the peasantry.

## Agricultural Cooperation

Mahatma Gandhi, in his time, and subsequently Jawaharlal Nehru, stressed the need for developing cooperation in the countryside, regarding this as a way to economic and social progress in agriculture, Similarly, Mrs. Gandhi pointed out as early as 1967 that the cooperatives bridge the gap between agriculture and techonology. She wants "revolutionary change" and mass participation in development. Of course the administrative machinery should be geared to this gigantic task. for she says: "In economic development, as in other fields of national activity, there is a disconcerting gap between intention and action. To bridge this gap we should boldly adopt whatever far-reaching changes in administration may be found necessary." She also raised the question of substantially reorganising the ruling party "from top to bottom", so that the Congress cadres would not confine themselve to "organisation of rallies, processions and meetings", would serve as "purposeful intermediaries between the government and the people so that programmes of development become increasingly effective at the local level".

Inheriting the democratic traditions of the liberation movement, Mrs. Gandhi acts as firm supporter of the equality of human beings irrespective of their race, nationality, language, religion and caste, just as the stands for the unity of all the people of India. "My whole training has been such", she said, "that I am unable to see people in compartments. To me an Indian is an Indian. I do not see him as a South Indian or a North Indian, or a Hindu or a Moslem".

## Dialectically Connected

This attitude is of considerable importance for her entire work. In our opinion, the strengthening of India's unity is dialectically connected with the provision of favourable opportunities for the development of all the numerous peoples of India. This, among other things, means that the administrative divisions should conform to the distribution of the population, that there should be provision for a more equitable economic development and, as being pointed out by the progressive circles, improvement in the relations between the Centre and the states, as well as improvement in relations between the states themselves.

India's experience since independence gives one grounds to draw the conclusion that the principal socio-economic factor stimulating and cementing the unity of this huge multi-national country is the growing public sector. Consequently, a democratic development of the public sector and further introduction of the planning principle in the economy is an objective requirement from the angle of India's unity also.

The successes of the country's foreign policy are like-wise connected with the name of Mrs. Gandhi as head of government of India. In rebuffing neo-colonialism, Jawaharlal Nehru elaborated and successfully implemented the essentially anti-implerialist policy of non-alignment in the interests of India's independent national development and progress. This made it possible for India to consolidate its independence—a major positive factor in maintaining international peace. Jawaharlal Nehru developed India's fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union, and this has become a tradition. Continuing and developing her father's policy in the present conditions, when there is an upsurge in economy, Mrs. Gandhi has put forward as an immediate goal the achievement of economic self-reliance. This progressive goal has always evoked the compiete understanding and resolute support of the Soviet Union. It is a matter of common knowledge that Soviet-Indian economic cooperation has been serving from the very outset the cause of India's economic independence.

As she proclaimed the goal of economic self-reliance, Mrs. Gandhi quite definitely pointed out that even today India, like other developing countries, has to contend against the neo-conlonialist aims of the imperialists, who are trying to adapt their policies to the present conditions, using at the same time the conservative forces within the country both inherited from the colonial and feudal past and those who have appeared as a result of bourgeois development.

"Influential forces, foreign and internal, are joining and defending their privileges and attempting to provide new positions for neo-colonialism......neo-colonialism is not in sympathy with our efforts to achieve independence. It tries to perpetuate our un-favourable position," declared Mrs. Gandhi in her speech at the 1970 conference of non-aligned countries in Lusaka.

## Foreign Policy

Mrs. Gandhi has pointed out that "foreign policy cannot be divorced from a country's internal policy". That is precisely why the positive changes in India in 1969-1971, and the country's reaching a new stage in socio-political development naturally brought about a further strehgthening of the friendly cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, a cooperation which is growing in spite of their differing social systems. This is reflected in the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation concluded between the Soviet Union and India in August 1971.

We are well aware of and highly appreciate Mrs. Gandhi's contribution to the siging of the Soviet-Indian Treaty on August 9, 1971, a treaty which has certainly gone down in the history of diplomacy and international relations as a doucment of immence political importance. Through this treaty, Mrs. Gandhi made her contribution to the development of the ideas of non-alignment and active struggle for peace. The escence of the Soviet-Indian friendship, which has been developing for a number of years, pointed out Mrs. Gandhi, lies in the mutual recognition of the importance of our two countries with vast territories and manpower resources, and in the benefit which will accrue to our two nations and the whole world from the coordination and the strengthen of our efforts in the cause of peace and progress.

An important part in strengthening the friendship and mutual understanding between our countries was played by Mrs. Gandhi's visits to the USSR, the talks she had with the Soviet leaders, and the joint documents adopted at the end of these talks.

During one of her visits, Mrs. Gandhi said : "We have met as friends and our exchanges have underlined the large area of agreement that exists between the Soviet Union and India. Our relations are growing steadily closer and stronger, for friendship with the Soviet Union has been and is one of the major elements in our foreign policy."

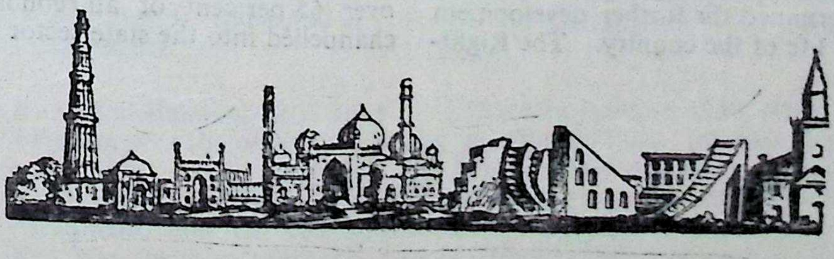
## Indo-Soviet Cooperation

Soviet-Indian cooperation is certainly playing an increasingly important part in the present international relations. This was particularly seen during the acute crisis in the subcontinent of India in 1971, when coopperation made it possible to defeat the intrigues of the imperialists and the Maoist leaders in that part of the world, and played a major part in enabling the people of Bangladesh to secure their national rights.

The positive changes which have taken place or are taking place in the subcontinent provide ever more favourable conditions for their normal development and good neighbourly relations.

It is generally known that the Soviet Union stands for the implementation of the idea of collective security in Asia. L. I. Brezhnev. General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, described as a long-term task the establishment of a system of collective security in those parts of the globe where the menace of new world war and armed conflits is concentrated. It is reported that Mrs. Gandhi welcomed the idea of a collective security system in Asia. The implementation of this idea, which obviously will be rather a stage-by-stage measure, can bring lasting peace to Asia, a peace which, according to Mrs. Gandhi is "not only a good ideal in itself but is also a necessity for all us, who have so much to do within our own countries for development and progress."

Indeed, quite a lot still remains to be done to achieve this goal. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious today that in a quarter of a century of independence, India has firmly strengthened its sovereignty and unity. It has made headway in economic and cultural development, and has reached a new stage of progress, economically and culturally. India's Positive role in the international areana has grown, Mrs. Gandhi has been and still is making an important contribution to these achievements of her great country, and to the cause of international peace. An outstanding national leader of India, she knows how to respond to the aspirations of the people and the demand of the times.



# In the Interests of the Nation

## SITUATION IN INDIA

### V. KONDRASHOV

LIKE in many other recent colonies or semi-colonies, in India the state sector has become a distinguishing feature of economic development. India was confronted with the necessity of setting up the state sector right after liberation from colonial oppression. The interests of strengthening national sovereignty persistently required the stepped-up economic growth of the country. The state sector was supposed to act as a lever in the economic renovation of India, in the attainment of economic independence and the attenuation of the influence of foreign and domestic monopoly capital.

Pointing out to the exceptional importance of the state sector, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi emphasised that it should control commanding heights. In the past two decades, in the course of which it has been extensively developed, the state sector has come to hold firm positions in iron and steel, heavy machinery, electronic, oil, aircraft and transport engineering and many other major Indian industries.

Soviet-Indian economic cooperation has become an important factor in the development and strengthening of the state sector in the country. This cooperation was initiated 17 years ago during the construction of the Bhilai Metallurgical Plant. Nowadays India has built, builds or blueprints some 70 industrial and other projects with the participation of Soviet organisations and specialists. Over 40 of them have already been commissioned. All these projects belong to the state sector.

Since 1970 the Indian Government has taken further important steps designed to strengthen the economic positions of the state. The first among them was a decision to nationalise 14 private banks. As a result, about 20,000 million rupees became the possession of the Government which received wider opportunities for the flexible and efficient financing of economic development projects.

This decision had far-reaching consequences not only from the viewpoint of promoting Indian economic growth. It largely determined the further development of the domestic-policy life of the country. The Right-Wing forces tried to give a battle to Indira Gandhi and quarters, which supported nationalisation of the banks and other progressive reforms, during the election of 1971-72. However, they met with a crushing defeat. The success of the Indian National Congress during the elections shows once again that the Government's policy designed to strengthen the state sector had the wide support of the Indian people.

Following banks, the state nationalised or put under its control 104 textile mills, all private coal mines, general insurance companies, textile exports, 464 local and foreign private companies engaged in the mining of non-coking coal, all copper mining, many sugar refineries, and wholesale grain trade. Private capital also yielded its positions in some other sectors of industry and foreign trade, particularly in imports.

The state sector plays a very important part in the Indian economy. Growing continuously, its share in the gross national product has already reached 15 per cent. Enterprises in the state sector show high rates of output growth. They turn out about 60 per cent of all steel, at least 50 per cent of machine tools, 75 per cent of chemical fertilisers and over 50 per cent of oil. India now exports metal to various countries, including Britain, which for centuries has done everything possible to keep it in the state of economic backwardness. The *Economic Times*, which reflects the interests of India's Big Business, was compelled to admit against its will that the state sector had become the dominating factor in the national economy.

Summing up India's economic development since independence, Finance Minister Y. B. Chavan said that thanks to the growth and consolidation of the state sector the Indian economic muscles, so to speak, became stronger.

Under the 5th Five-Year Plan (1974-79) the state sector is to take dominating positions in all vital economic branches. Some 350,000 million rupees, or over 65 per cent of all economic allocations are to be channelled into the state sector in the next five years.

●

# INDIRA

## The Stormy-Petrel of Indian Politics

By
**K. C. SAXENA**

IT SOUNDS paradoxical that it is in Asia, where women are mostly victim of the subordination by man, that there should be three women Prime Ministers, the only three women heads of States in the world (excluding Britain's non-political monarch). They are Mrs. Golda Meier of Israel, Mrs. Bandarnaike of Ceylon, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India.

Their exalted position does not necessarily reflect the status of women in their countries. It is due partly in the case of Mrs. Bandarnaike and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to their family heritance and associations. Mrs. Meier did not have that advantage either in husband or father, but after migrating from America, she had the backdrop in Israel's dominant labour movement. The achievements of all the three cannot be explained on hereditary or environmental grounds. They have justified themselves in their own rights. Having said this much, I confine myself to describing the qualities of heart and head of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who is shortly going to complete her seventh eventful year in office as the Prime Minister of India.

The fairsex has gone down in the history of nations 'woman as ruler', as 'warrior-queen', as 'head of State' and, as Prime Minister'. It was but natural that a King without a male heir should be succeeded by a daughter. It was sometimes thought expedient for a widowed queen to assume the powers and responsibilities of her late husband. Over six hundred years ago, Sultan Iltumish nominated his daughter Raziya as his successor in preference to his son, and she occupied the throne of Delhi for four years. In recent history, we had in Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, a warrior-queen. Yet another was Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar, and a third was Rani Channamma of Kittur. And we have Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who on January 24, 1966, was sworn in as Prime Minister of India and is now at the zenith of her political career.

After Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira the woman Prime Minister was the obvious—almost the inevitable choice for India. The election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi on January 19,1966, as Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament, and her consequent elevation to the Prime Ministership must be viewed as something unique in the annals of the world history.

Born on November 19, 1917, Indira learnt to move unconsciously even as a little girl among India's great pace-setters in politics. When she was thirteen years old, she organized "Vanar Sena", a children's wing of the Civil Disobedience Movement. At sixteen, she joined Tagore's Visvabharati, and at 18 after her mother Kamla Nehru passed away, she joined Somerville College, Oxford, and became a member of the British Labour Party. After from this. she was also the recipient of the long series of letters from her father Jawaharlal Nehru since collected as 'Letters from a Father to a daughter' and 'Glimpses from World History'.

Back in India in 1930, she joined the Congress and in March 1942, married Feroze Gandhi, whom she had known earlier in India and England. She was arrested in September in Allahabad for her participation in the 'Quit India Movement'. Before India was declared Independent on August 15, 1947, she had already been blessed with two sons—Rajiv and Sanjay and it became her special responsibility to look after her father, who was then the Prime Minister of India. As at Anand Bhavan, at Teen Murti House too, it was natural for her to move among the great, the highly-placed and wielders of power, the visiting dignitaries, the prophets, priests and kings.

The sudden and tragic death of Lal Bahadur Shastri and the lightening Pakistani attack on India in 1965 created a vacuum again in the Central Leadership. In 1964, consensus had determined the issue of leadership; in 1966 the issue had to be decided by election. Indira got overwhelming support from leaders, Central and State, and emerged victorious, scoring 355 votes against Morarji Desai's 169.

During her first twelve months in office, Indira seemed to be trying to find her moorings and develop her own Prime Ministerial style of functioning. Nevertheless, she gave the impression that while broadly following the policies laid down by her two predecessors, she was not going to be helplessly caught on the wrong foot.

The two years between the election of Dr. Zakir Hussain as President and his sudden demise on May 3, 1969, were a difficult period of turmoil and uncertainty for India and Indira. Within two years after the general elections, in State after State, Governor's rule had to be imposed, and for all Indira's tireless electioneering tours, the mid-term elections made the situation for the Congress only a shade worse than before. Sailing over and steering clear of the disturbed sea of Indian politics, Indira certainly showed her capacity for endurance, her instinct for survival. In the early months of 1969, she seemed to be strongly entrenched in her office as Prime Minister and established herself as a national leader. She got on well enough with the North and the South, with the Congress and the non-Congress Governments. She had charm—she has great charm but she was also known to be capable of taking unpleasant decisions. She could be firm without causing unnecessary annoyance. She had much of her father's charisma and something too of her grandfather Motilal Nehru's iron will. She was not intimidated by leaders however eminent or powerful, whether Indian or foreign. The great split in the Congress in July-August 1969 proved that she is gifted with iron-like determination and granite-like resolve.

The 'Syndicate' and the 'Indicate', were both thinking themselves as self-concious sub-power groups, not of 1969 but of what might happen in 1972 with a deadlocked Parliament. The Syndicate wanted a President of their own choice while Indira wanted anthor one acceptable to her; and a consensus could not emerge. The scene then shifted to Bangalore AICC. But the Parliamentary Board won the next round by nominating Sanjeeva Reddy for the Presidentship of India against the wishes of Indira. Stung to the quick, she struck swiftly, eliminated Morarji from the Cabinet, pushed through Bank Nationalisation, and acquiesced in the Fakhruddin-Jagjivan move to discredit the Congress President and secure freedom of voting at the Presidential election.

During the whole of 1970, Indira Gandhi headed a minority Government at the Centre. She resigned but did not quite rule, for one or two Opposition parties could any day have brought government down. After a careful survey of the political scene and an intuition into the underground tremors of dissidence and expectation, Indira reached the conclusion that the divorce and delinking with the Organisation Congress gave her the chance to project her own Ruling Congress as a new Revolutionary Party not responsible at all for the sins of ommission and commission of the last many years, Indira's second insight was that the national issues should not be allowed to be clouded by purely local issues; she, therefore, decided to delink the State elections from the Central by going to the polls a year in advance. This double delinking were as events showed a singular stroke of political sagacity.

It had been a brief but hectic campaign. The Ruling Congress had the landslide victory. The Opposition was quite in disarry. Indira's election as Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament was just a formality and she formed her Government with expeditious ease. There were no road-blocks in her way.

Just when Indira's government was getting ready to face the uphill task of making a serious attempt to redeem the election pledges, the sky suddenly darkened in the East. From the beginning India's sympathy was with the gallant people of Bangla. When Yahya moved his troops to the frontier, the Indian troops moved too and completed the arc of confrontation. The Government signed an Indo-Soviet pact to neutralise Nixon's long-distance flirtation with Peking. In November 1971, Indira decided to visit Western Capitals in the hope that she might be able to mobilise support for an eleventh-hour political solution of the Bangla Desh problem that should also solve the problem for India posed by the 10 million Bangla Desh refugees. Whatever the political results, it was a triumphant tour for Indira and her government.

Bangla Desh was liberated. Yahya has gone to the limbo of ex-dictators and Mujibur Rehman is back in his beloved Sonar Bangla. The ten million refugees have gone back to Bangla Desh duly rehabilitated.

For the millions in India, who throng to see her or to hear her, Indira is "Priyadarshini Dear to behold" a mother to be loved and trusted. Long Live Indira!

# INDIA : YESTERDAY AND TODAY

*O.P. Mehrotra*

## FIRST STEPS

ON AUGUST 15, 1947 when India started her journey as a free country she faced many difficulties, inherited as a legacy of colonial rule. It was difficult to solve all of them with the limited resources and a low level of accumulation which the country had due to the errested economic growth over a long period. The country had not only inherited a colonial structure of economy but also a colonial administrative apparatus, which was completely divorced from the people and lacked an intimate knowledge of their aspirations.

True, there was lot of enthusiasm and jubiliation among the people due to the retreat of colonialism and attainment of freedom, but there was also a shadow of tragedy due to the partition of the country and its aftermath, the uprooting of millions from their homes and hearts, the unending arrival and departure of refugees. And yet there were commitments to meet, commitments which had been made to the people over a long period of struggle for freedom. A planned effort had to be made to translate them. But planning to be successful demands a lot of grand work, survey of resources, collection of statistics, and all that. But British rulers had not undertaken any such activity for this purpose. In order to do some spade work in this direction in a very first few months after assuming power under the interim Government, Jawaharlal Nehru appointed a Planning Advisory Board, which was entrusted with the task of a rapid survey of various schemes which could be taken up in a planned manner. Some of the schemes suggested by it were sanctioned by the Government. So on August 15, when India started her career as a free country, there were several schemes ready in the files and on some work had already begun.

Independent India's first Prime Minister, who called himself the first servant of the people of India, referred to some of these schemes in his broadcast from New Delhi, on August 15, 1947. He said "The Government of India have in hand at present several schemes for developing river valleys by controlling the flow of rivers, building dams and reservoirs and irrigation works and developing hydro-electric power. These schemes are thus basic to all planning and we intend to complete them as rapidly as possible so that the masses my profit".

In giving priority to these projects Jawaharlal Nehru had several things in his mind. He explained them in several of his speeches before engineers, industrialists, in the Constituent Assembly and at public meetings. These projects were aimed to give water for irrigation required for increasing the agricultural production; they were to provide power for industrialisation; and create employment opportunities for engineers and workers.

Take for example, the agricultural production. In 1945, the yield of wheat per acre was 671 pounds as against 1033 in United States or 1006 in France. The per acre yield of paddy was 805 pounds as against 1432 in the United States or 2307 in Japan. The low yield was due not only to the old methods of cultivation or low fertility of land but also, which was very important for India, due to the lack of irrigation facilities. A country, rich in water resources, with great rivers flowing from its one end to another, India had not used its water resources properly. Out of the total inflow of water in the country's rivers, estimated at 1356 million acrefeet or 5.6 per cent was being used for irrigation purposes at the time of independence. Large tracts of cultivable land lay waste in India because irrigation facilities were available there. As a result of this India used to have families in the colonial period wherever there was drought. If the colonial rulers could be callous about this state of affairs it was understandable, for such was the character of imperialism. But a Government of a free people could not disregard this situation. The wisdom of Jawaharlal Nehru in taking up these river valley projects is thus explicit.

And it was not only on the domestic front that Nehru took these measures of far-reaching consequences. He did the same in the sphere of foreign relations. A man of great vision and foresight Jawaharlal Nehru had, through his very first broadcast on September 7, 1946 tried to give a distinct identity to free India's foreign policy. He had declared, "We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in furtherance of world peace and freedom. We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past two world wars and which may lead to disaster on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war".* The anti-imperialist edge to the foreign policy could be easily felt for Nehru said without mincing words, "We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races".*

Without the fear of any consequences in the same speech Jawaharlal Nehru greeted the Soviet Union and declared that is neighbours in Asia, "We shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other "* Without loosing any time he tried to establish direct contact with the Soviet Union. On his instruction, V.K. Krishna Menon and K.P.S. Menon, who were members of the Indian delegation to the first General Assembly Session of the United Nations, met the Soviet Foreign Minister V. Molotov in Paris on September 28, 1946 and delivered to him a personal message from Jawaharlal Nehru, seeking help the meeting the grave food situation in India. But this meeting, however, broadend into a discussion on mutual relation. Speaking in the Central Assembly on November 12, 1946, Shri Nehru said, "......the conversations with Molotov were very friendly and he expressed his willingness to exchange diplomatic representatives with India. It was proposed that this matter be gone into further in Moscow in December next."*

A community of opinions on many world problems was established between India and the USSR in the course of the first UN General Assembly session held from October 1946 to January 1972. In early December 1946, the Soviet Foreign Minister praised India for the role in the UN General Assembly. In the same month Shri K.P.S. Menon visited Moscow as a special representative of India to discuss the question of diplomatic relations, which were established on April 18, 1947. The successions of events that followed after that announcement was so quick that India had her first ambassador Mrs. Vijya Lakshmi Pandit settled in Moscow, already two days before the celebration of her independence day.

On August 15, 1947, when India entered the era of freedom, among several congratulatory messages which were recived on that day, the one had also been received from the Foreign Minister of the USSR. In reply to this message, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had said, "We shall always be proud of this day and earnest and steadfast in our endeavour to devote this freedom to the social and economic betterment of our own people and promotion of peace and justice throughtout the world. In the realisation of our international aims, we look forward to the co-operation of the Government and the people of the USSR to whom, on behalf of my colleagues and of the people of the India, I send you our best wishes".

The bridge of friendship which Jawaharlal Nehru consciously built with the Soviet Union in those early days, and in building which he found Soviet Union equally responsive, was of great help to India both for her economic reconstruction as well as in international sphere to defeat the intrigues of imperialism. This became clear already in 1948 when the question of Kashmir came before the Security Council. In details we shall see in this narrative how India benefitted from this strategy of Jawaharlal Nehru in subsequent years.

The first three years of Independent India represented a period of transition, in which while meeting the urgent requirements of the community like food, the Government was engaged in consolidating the political powers (integration of states) in formulating the policies and plans for the future. It was also a phase in which the Government was trying to fix priorities of development and locating the sources from which India could get assistance in desired directions.

On political front besides integration of erstwhile states in the Indian Union, the Constituent Assembly had framed the Constitution which was adopted in January 1950. The constitution came into force from January 26, 1950 and proclaimed India as a Sovereign Republic.

The Preamble of the Constitution proclaimed to secure for citizens of India :

"Justice, social, economic and political :

"Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship :

"Equality of status and of opportunity".

The Directive Principles enjoined that "the State, in particular, directs its policy towards security

(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best as to subserve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women ;

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*Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches Vol. 1 PP. 2-3. Publications Division.

(e) that the health and the strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of childern are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength;

(f) that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment".

On the economic front efforts in this period were concentrated in the main on the extension of irrigation facilities and power generation, on the grow more food campaign, on increasing the supply of essential commodities, both by encouraging production at home and by increased imports.

On the industrial front some steps were taken in the direction of production of machine tools, assembly and progressive production of locomotive, production of fertilisers, diesel engineer, cables and telephone instruments. The goverment of India also made a small beginning in ship and air-craft buildings.

In the sphere of housing, health, education and science, Government of Independent India took important steps. Efforts in these spheres were mainly concentrated on the rehabilitation of refugees, extension of education, opening of new hospitals and dispensaries, setting up a factory for production of certain drugs, establishment of new scientific and technical institutions, etc.

For carrying out the future programme of economic development in a planned manner, in 1950 the Government of India appointed a Planning Commission under the Chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Commission's main task was to prepare a plan for economic development. It was to function as a permanent body closely associated with the Union Government. In July, 1950, the Commission was asked to prepare at a short notice a six-year plan of economic development to be placed before the Commonwealth Consultative Committee. This plan was fitted into Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development of South-East Asia.

Within another year the Commission prepared a more elaborate Draft Five-Year Plan, covering the projects already under execution and others newly proposed. The Plan in its final form was published in 1952, and with it began the era of planned economic development in India. Speaking on the work of the Planning Commission in Lok Sabha, on December 15, 1952, Nehru said: "I have a feeling that another stage in our journey has been reached a duty done—well done, if I may say so. At the same time, I feel even more strongly that a still more difficult duty is ahead of us. Another journey has immediately to be taken in which there are no resting places..."

"When I see these two heavy volumes of the Report of the Planning Commission, my mind conjures up the vision of something vast—the mighty theme of a nation building and remaking itself."

*To be Continued.*

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( *Contd. from page 35* )

shelter by each and every one of her relatives. What is her future?

Dr. David reported that from clinical point of view abortion programme had been completed but lang-range difficulties of these unfortunate girls remain. Most of these girls were affected by Syphils or Gonorrhoea. They had the experience of abortion and many of them might have become barren or victims of recurring veneral diseases. Even if these girls of marriagable age could be treated and got cured, it would be difficult to get a suitable man to marry them.

Over and above the problems narrated by Dr. David the question of establishing sufficient number of orphanges for the innumerable babies born of women outraged by the enemy soldiers before the programme of abortion could be implemented has assumed a great problem.

It is unfortunate that rape is such an offence that instead of emphasising the offence, shame and insults are showered on the very victims of the offence—unfortunate and helpless beings who became unwilling targets of enemy's lust. These women are part and parcel of the liberation struggle. Bangladesh has been liberated, but when will these molested poor daughters of Bangladesh be re-habilitated?

President Bhutto is vociferous about the release of POWs without trial for their War crimes. If such criminals against humanity, against womanhood, against all that is beautiful and chaste are not tried, who else deserve punishment?

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# Colossal Damage and Destruction

## AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED FIELDS

BANGLADESH in predominantly rural. Production in agriculture and its allied fields constitutes the bulk of the GNP (Gross National Product). The price paid by this sector was substantial in terms of Infrastructure, Tools, Implements and Equipment, and Production. Specifically :

(1) Production in agriculture particularly, rice, jute, tea and sugarcane decreased, *e.g.*, AUS and AMAN rice production in 1971 was as low as 8 million tons compared to 9.9 million tons in 1969. Moreover lack of adequate input supplies reduced BORO (spring) rice output of 1972 to about 1.6 million tons as against 2.2 million tons in 1971. In jute production there was a decline of 2.6 million bales in 1971 compared to the year before. But the worsthit was tea where production fell to 22 million lbs. from a normal output of 70 million lbs.

(2) About 500,000 pairs of bullocks were slaughtered or lost together with several thousand milch cattle. If a pair of draught animals can work 4 acres of land this loss would affect 2 million acres.

(3) Losses in irrigation equipment were not considerable but spare parts and vehicles for repairs maintenance have been considerably depleted. Tubewells and associated electriclty transmission systems were also heavily damaged.

**Fisheries**—both inland and marines—received a bad battering during the onslaught. Thousands of fishermen lost their boats and fishing equipment. Today they are the worst-hit community, the weavers being the nearest rival.

**Cottage Industries**—of 300,000 handlooms existing 39,000 were destroyed and 56,000 badly damaged. Many craftsmen were killed, or severely injured and are unable now to earn a livelihood.

## TRANSPORT

The occupation army, in a last attempt to stall the advance of the Allied Forces, damaged or destroyed many vital communication links and carriers in Bangladesh. About 296 bridges including the Hardinge Bridge over the Padma river, and George VI Bridge over the Old Brahmaputra river, were damaged or destroyed. This has disrupted railway communications from the east to central Bangladesh and between southern parts of the country. The existing ferries oh the big rivers were either sunk or damaged and rolling stock also suffered heavily.

In addition, the two major ports—Chittagong and Chalna, were made almost inoperative. Some jetties, transit sheds, cargo handing equipment, *etc.*, were damaged due to bombing and fire in ships. But the occupation forces also sank some large vessels in the port area and thereby made them unusable for some time. In the road transport sector, even vehicles were destroyed. About 3,000 trucks of various types were missing and many buses were damaged. Telecommunications suffered badly, and some vital and expensive telephone exchanges such as that of the port and industrial city of Khulna, were totally destroyed.

## INDUSTRIES

This is a sector in which all types of establishment—large, medium, and small—have suffered severely. Cottage industries were virtually paralysed, especially those pursued by minority communities, the bulk of whom had to flee their homes. In organised industries, it was not just physical damage to plant, building, raw material and vehicles which mattered ; of prime importance also was loss of entrepreneurial and managerial skill. Repair of damage, and recovery from this loss, will take time. Meanwhile severe underproduction and a chronic shortage of consumer goods contribute to growing inflation in the country today.

## SOCIAL INFRA-STRUCTURE

**Education**—Intellectuals and students were primary targets of the occupation army. Educational institutions from village schools to the major Universities in Bangladesh bore the brunt both in men and materials. In this sector alone damage and loss have been estimated at some Tk. 295 million.

**Health**—In the health sector, physical damage has not been heavy. But environmental disruption and the breakdown of normal living conditions and services in 1971 created a potential threat of countrywide epidemics due to acute malnutrition and other health risks/including dislocation of existing anti-epidemic programmes like malaria and smallpox eradication.

In the social welfare sector as a whole very great damage, chiefly to persons, was inflicted by the occupation forces and has not yet been fully assessed. Men and women have been made destitute or incapacitated, many children orphaned, many women raped and ill-treated. A substantial programme of rehabilitation will be needed, and has begun, to take care of these victims of war and brutality.

### SUMMARY OF DAMAGES BY SECTORS

| | | *Figures in million Taka* |
|---|---|---|
| I. | **Agriculture and Allied Field :** | 4290 630 |
| II. | **Transport :** | 1009.539 |
| III | **Industries :** | 402 045 |
| IV. | **Natural Resources :** | 292.770 |
| V | **Social Infrastructure :** | 1315.170 |
| VI. | **Physical Infrastructure :** | 1924.379 |
| VII. | **Communication :** | 59.431 |
| | **Grand Total :** | 9293.964 |

# *Freedom Fighter of Delhi*

SHRI R. K. AGGARWAL, son of Shri Ramgopal Baisiwala, is a born freedom fighter. He was born on March 27, 1910, at Pratapgarh, Alwar. At the early age of 20, he joined Congress under the influence of P.C. Bose, M.P. and led the SALT Law Movement in Bihar for six months. He was imprisoned for six months at Patna. This brought his name to the fore in the political arena. On shifting to Delhi he became the President of *Ad hoc* Committee of Congress in Paharganj area in 1940. He participated in the individual Satya-Graha Movement sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi and later Quit India Movement of 1942. Attempts were made on his life by the British agents but he luckily escaped. He courted jail for two months due to his involvement in the Victory Day demonstration in 1946. Shri Aggarwal has been associated with many organisations, cultural and political. He became members of Indian Branch of the World Peace Council in 1949, India-China Friendship Association in 1954, Indo-Hungarian and Indo-Mongolean Cultural Society in 1957 and Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Association in 1971. He was also a founder member of Atal Kotnis Memorial Library Trust.

SHRI AGGARWAL is a much travelled man and visited Japan on 8th August, 1957 (World Peace Conference on Hiroshima Day), China on the 20th August the same year, Moscow in 1962 and Korea on the occasion of the 20th Independence Day of the country. Juliet Curie Silver Medal was awarded to him in 1959 on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the World Peace Council in recognition of his devoted social service. Shri Aggarwal is the recipient of Tamra Patra as a freedom fighter from Delhi on the eve of 25th Silver Jubilee Celebration of Independence.

Shri Aggarwal is a dedicated social worker with unflinching faith in secularism, democracy and socialism.

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# Art and Culture of Bangladesh

### S. K. BHATTACHARYA

*Lecturer in History of Art, College of Art, New Delhi*

THE revolution in Eastern Bengal, now known as Bangla Desh has created a stir in the world to-day. The ruthless oppression of Yahya regime led to the killing of nearly 3 million people. Naturally artists have reacted to such oppression unprecedented in Indian History.

There is a crisis in the sub-continent of India and the revolutionary zeal of East Bengal artists reveal that phenomenon. Artists like Zainul Abedin and Qamarul Hasan reflect the agonising spirit of revolution. Zainul Abedin's powerful sketches are reminiscent of Goya's etching with a restlessness and sincerity. Abedin is a fast painter and reveals in quick strokes remarkable for their economy and strength. His famine sketches like 'Way to Quaid's grave' has an epitome of liveliness and streamlined form. Qamarul Hasan and Anwarul Haque together with Abedin belong to the Dacca School of Art and Hasan's 'Waiting' with his powerful outline drawing reflect the change in the avant garde characterisation art.

The natural setting of Sonar Bangla, with his golden paddyfields and quite flowing river like the Padma and the Meghna inspired the artists of Bangla Desh. The group of artists, who lead the movement at Dacca are Zainul Abedin and Qamarul Hasan. They are the best known artists of Bangla Desh. Zainul Abedin was first noticed for his powerful sketches of the famine in Bengal of 1942-43. His medium was brush, ink and paper. He did over two thousand sketches in a short period and these sketches can be compared to Goya. His early works had romantic flavour. In these works the soft paddy-fields, blue sky, lakes, rivers, graceful human beings in the fields and villages appear as subject matter of his art. Recently, after his visit to the Middle East he painted a number of canvases in oils which are powerful. He has been able to delicate the pathos of the Palestinian refugees and freedom fighters. Abedin was born in 1917 in Kishoregunj in the District of Mymensingh. He studied at the Govt. College of Art at Calcutta. He also taught there. He left for Dacca after 1947 and is now head of the Dacca College of Art. Qamarul Hasan was born in 1921 in West Bengal, also studied art at the Govt. College of Art, Calcutta (1938). He was one of the leaders who took initiative in different movements at Dacca including Bengali language movement. He is one of the founder teachers of Dacca Art College. Later on he became Director of Handicraft board. Some of his lithographs were published by UNESCO. His latest works are based on the folk motif of Bengal village.

Safiuddin Ahmed is another artist of Bangladesh and was born in 1922. He graduated from Calcutta College of Art and became famous in graphics specially wood cuts. He is the head of the graphics Department at Dacca Art College. In 1956 he went to U.K. to study graphic Art at the Central School of Art, London.

Mention must be made of other young painters of Bangladesh. They are Rashid Choudhury. Novera Ahmed, Bashir, Aminul Islam, Kabira, Mustafa, Mandur, Sawpan Choudhry, Mitish Kundu, Debdash Chakravorty, Khokan Ghose, Abdul Barek, Sahabuddin, Kaji Ghosh, Barek Miya, Kaji Ashadujjaman.

All the above artists had a historic exhibition in Bengal in 1971.

# Advantage of the Socialists Health System

**Marcela Andrlova**

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ago, in February 1948, the the Czechoslovak working people removed the representatives of reactionary bourgeoisie from the Government, and the Czechoslovak State thus could embark on the road towards socialism. The events did not affect only the political and economic development of Czechoslovakia, but left also a mark on a sphere which at first sight does not appear to have anything in common with such revolutionary transformations—the sphere of health care.

Thanks to February 1948, it was possible to build a socialist health system in Czechoslovakia. Later that year, the sickness and old age security systems were merged into one system of national security, spas and curative springs were nationalized, as well as all hospitals and health eastablishments, the pharmaceutical industry, and subsequently also all pharmacies. Within three years, a comprehensive national health system was built, and the State assumed full responsibility for the health of the citizens, who began to get everything free : all medical treatment, including the most demanding operations, all medicines, check-ups and necessary hospitalization. These measures contributed substantially to an improvement in the overall state of health of the population which at that time—compared to the present—was very bad.

The infant mortality rate was very high then, as was the mortality rate due to children's infectious diseases. Many mothers had their babies delivered at home, which also contributed to the high material mortality rate. There were no enough places in the sanatoria for all people suffering from tuberculosis. Medical care was of unequal standard. and the inhabitants of more remote districts had difficulties in obtaining medical attention when needed. Epidemics were frequent.

At present, all Czechoslovak people regard free health care as something to be taken for granted. Everyone is regularly called for preventive check-ups for possible pulmonary diseases. These examinations are obligatory, as are also all vaccination campaigns. Woman are given gynaecological examinations, young people are also under systematic medical care, as are all employees on whom doctors in their factories, enterprises and offices keep detailed files. All people who are ill get all the prescriptions and treatment free. If an operation is necessary, it is performed by highly qualified specialists, and post-operative treatment in spas—after operations of the heart, stomach or the gall bladder—is also absolutely free of charge.

The basic principles of the Czechoslovak medical system are the State responsibility for the health of the population, stress prevention, unification, its planned character, availability, free of charge, close ties between science and practice, and active participation of the public. Over recent years, other principles have been added, making health care not only the right of every citizen but also his duty towards himself and the society. It is the task of all economic and cultural bodies of the Czechoslovak society to actively create conditions for the protection of health. Surveys are carried out among patients suffering from diabetes, tuberculosis, and other serious diseases. In all fields of medicine, efforts are made to detect illnesses as soon as possible, in the incipient stage.

Easy availability of medical care in ensured not only by a dense network of health facilities but also by amply equipped ambulance and transport services. The basic organisational unit in the health system is the district health centre, staffed by several specialists (internist, gynaecologist, pediatrician, stomatologist) and other medical personnel who cooperate closely with policlinics and hospitals. In these institutions, unified methods of work are used, as in outpatient departments of the district health centres, and in clinics attached to factories and enterprises. In necessary cases, doctors make calls on patients in their homes.

This whole system of health care is positively reflected in the state of health of the population : while in 1948, infant mortality in Czechoslovakia was among the highest in Europe (83.5 out of every 1,000 live births), it has now been reduced to 22 1. The care of expectant mothers includes at least seven examinations; 97 per cent of them have their babies in maternity homes. This also contributed to the drop in infant mortality.

All children are vaccinated against tuberculosis, smallpox, whooping cough, tetanus, poliomyelitis and measles: periodic examinations are compulsory. The incidence of many infectious diseases has been sharply reduced, especially of poliomyelitis (not a single case appeared in the past 12 years), diphtheria, whooping cough, typhoid and parasitic diseases The number

( *Contd. on page 68* )

# Dandi March and To-day's India

## SMT. INDIRA GANDHI

TODAY'S campaign against poverty is the second phase of the struggle launched by Mahatma Gandhi with the great Dandi march which kindled a new spirit in the country ultimately leading to political freedom. The task of achieving economic freedom and social justice for millions of people is still to be achieved.

Progress and development can not be achieved by pulling down or by violent agitations or demanding bifurcation of state. Development and economic progress are possible only by taking proper steps in that direction and not by creating impediments in the way. What is necessary is a united and determined effort to improve the lot of millions of poor people.

I recall how Mahatma Gandhi gave equal importance to the work of economic uplift and social welfare while he asked people to fight for freedom. Gandhiji had said that the wealth of the rich people was for the welfare of the society. But experience has shown that rich people will not part with it themselves. Therefore, the path of socialism has to be adopted to assure economic equality and removal of social injustice, particularly to Harijans and other backward people.

Looking round the world it can be seen that even the affluent has not been able to remove poverty. India, will not, therefore, follow the methods of capitalism of nationalising everything. I have to follow my own policy.

Congress Govt. has taken up the programme of 'GARIBI-HATAO' immediately after coming into power. But unfortunately, there could not be much progress because of unforseen developments like the Bangladesh issue and natural calamities like drought in large parts of the country.

However, I warn those who indulge in agitations and create difficulties in the movement of foodgrains or other essential supplies or those whose aim only to 'grab power by any means'.

These people have failed in their attempts to misguide the people as far as 'principles and ideals' are concerned and are now indulging in personal allegations and character assassination. They should realise that these tactics would only ruin the country.

India has tried best to maintain friendly relations with other nations. There can be no complacency in these 'changing times' and India has to be alert.

It is the duty and responsibility of the people under these circumstances to forge unity and mutual confidence and work with determination to achieve our goal of economic freedom and social justice as quickly as possible. It can not be done by Governmental action alone unless the people revive the enthusiasm and unity as was shown at the time of the Dandi march to achieve independence.

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# THE IMMORTAL

**Smt. Anila Das Gupta**

Whatever others may say,
I shall not accept their version :
That you are no more—
you have departed for good—
that you have been killed by the enemies,
who looked upon you as a rebel.

A Rebel you were indeed !
Your courage was unique !
You rose in revolt
against the brutal colonial rulers—
the oppressive lords
of the eastern and western parts of the country.
They tortured you to death.
The waters of Buriganga
turned red with your blood !
Eternal sleep embraces you to-day.
The whole country adores you most
for your unparalleled sacrifice and heroism.
Men and women in thousands
line up in pilgrimage
before your sacred grave,
their eyes beaming with iron-will.

The horizon of the graveyard
is radiant with the death-defying
glow of a bright future.
You are mankind's indestructible treasure.
Deathless indeed, you are !

# Turning Point in Vietnamese Revolution

*Correspondent*

ON THE 27th of January, 1973, in Paris, Capital of the French Republic, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Repubiic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, formally signed the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam".

As provided for in the agreement, the U.S. and the other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. The U.S. ends its war of aggression, its military involvement and its intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam.

The right to self-detemination and the democratic liberties of the South Vietnamese people shall be respected. The poeple of South Viet Nam shall decide themselves their political future through genuinely free and democratic general elections.

The reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means.

With the signed agreement, the resistance of Vietnamese against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has own a very glorious victory. This is a very great victory of the most glorious war of resistance in the history of the people's struggle against foreign aggression.

Entire people, in the South and the North alike, take immense pride in and are greatly inspired by this great victory of the fatherland.

This is also a victory of the peoples of the Indochinese countries in their united fight against the common enemy.

This victory of the Vietnamese people is also a victory of epochal significance of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, of the freedom and justice-loving people all over the world.

This brilliant victory is the fruit of more than 18 years of persistent fight of the 40 million people and combatants throughout our country, after surmounting innumerable sacrifices and hardships.

This is a victory of the spirit "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", of the of the strength of solidarity of the entire people of revolutionary heroism, of the tradition of patriotism, dauntlessness and staunchness forged in 4,000 years of existence of the Vietnamese nation.

With boundless loyalty to the fatherland and the people invincible armed forces in both the South and the North have fought and made sacrifices with tremendous valour, recorded marvellous exploits and proved themselves very worthy of being "the heroic army of the heroic people".

In these joyful days of victory, entire people feel all the more indebted to the great services of venerated and beloved President HO CHI MINH, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, who has devoted all his life to the independence of freedom of the fatherland and the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

We will remember with the most profound feeling of gratitude the immortal services of the heroes, heroines, martyrs and all comrades and compatriots in

Children planting flowers again in their school flower garden which was badly damaged by US bombs both zones who have laid down their lives for the country.

The great victory of the resistance aganist U.S. aggression, for national salvation is the victory of all conquering Marxism-Leninism, of the judicious and creative political and military line of our party which has upheld the spirit of independence and freedom, united the entire party, army and people in a firm resolve to fight and to win, closely combining genuine patriotism with pure internationolism.

This victory is the victory of the socialist regime full of vitality which has turned the North into the steady base of the revolution throughout the country.

This victory of Vietnamese nation is also the result of the wholehearted support and great assistance accorded us by the other socialist countries and the progressive people all over the world.

The victorious conclusion of the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has ushered in a new turning point in the Vietamese revolution. The signed rgreement in the political and legal basis ensuring the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, and sacred right to self-determination of the compatriots in the South. This victory is the basis for the people to march forward and win new victories and achieve the national democratic revolution throughout the country.

The struggle of the people in South still has to overcome many difficulties and obstacles. The militarist and fascist forces, instrument of neo-colonlaism, running counter to the aspirations of the nation, have not yet renounced their scheme to sabotage peace and block the road to independence and freedom of the people. That is why, the immediate task in both zones of the country is to strengthen solidarity, maintain high vigilance at all time, and strive to consolidate the successes already won, firmly preserve lasting peace, achieve independence and democracy in the South and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Normal life has been quickly restored in North

It can be taken for granted that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will seriously and scrupulously implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement and all parties signatory respect this agreement and fully implement it. This is a very important, and at the same time very difficult and complicate struggle to which people of all strata and all patriots in South Viet Nam must take an active contribution.

The war of aggression which the various imperialist countries have, one after another conducted on Vietnam for more than 30 long years has left very serious aftermaths. It is a certainty that the South will unite with and love one another as children of the same family, dispel all animosity and suspicion, and will, without distinction of the poor and the rich, political affiliation, religious belief and nationality, pool efforts in the struggle to preserve peace, achieve genuine independence, excrcise democratic liberties, materialize national concord, heal the wounds of war, rebuild the country, and bring a life of plenty and happiness to the entire people.

Viet Nam is one. The Vietnamese nation is one. The reunification of the fatherland is the sacred desire of the people in both zones.

The victory of the resistance against U S. aggression, for national salvation, has created unprecedented favourable conditions for the North of the country to forge ahead with the building of socialism. For the prosperity and strength of the country, for the achievement of independence and democracy in the South and of a beautiful and happy life for themselves.

Let everybody, after decades of war enter the of peaceful construction with high revolutionary zeal and in a stirring emulation movement.

The destinies of the three Indochinese peoples are always closely related to the one another. The mutual love and friendship between Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have been forged by the blood they have shed in the protracted struggle against the common enemies for their respective independence and freedom. It is firmly believed that the resistance put up by the heroic Lao people under the glorious banner of the Lao

Patrotic Front, as well as the resistance waged by the valorous people of Cambodia under the banner of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union of Combodia will end in very glorious victory.

The Vietnamese revolution has been won very great victories. Yet, the nation's struggle must be continued to consolidate the gains it has made and march toward new successes in order to bulid a peaceful, unified independent, democratic prosperous and strong Vietnam.

The glorious victory will be followed by a period of most resplendent development of the nation. To be worthy of the compatriots and comrades who have laid down their lives for the country's independence and freedom and for the happiness of the people and all the future generations, let each and every one of the people devote all his mind, energy and talent to defending and building the country, thus writing new pages in the glorious history of the nation.

Let the compatriots in the whole country strengthen unity.

Develop their victory and march forward enthusiastically!

Long live their Vietnamese Fatherland!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers Party!

The great President HO CHI MINH will live for ever with the cause!

Thieu still refuse o return hundreds of thousands vietnamese aneivilis detained such a hills bearing the name of "TIGER CAGE"

# IMPERIALISM IS CHANGING

**Major Raul Castro Ruz**
*Deputy Prime Minister, Cuba*

IMPERIALISM is changing with the reality imposed on it by modern times; it sings siren songs, but it has hopes that its imperialist interests will prevail south of the Rio Bravo, with the support of a sort of subimperialism, a sort of subpoliceman or subgendarme—which today is called Brazil.

Here we want to repeat in full of the remarks we made about our continent on December 2, Day of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, at the parade ground of La Cabana Fortress : "If we look at the situation in Latin America, we will see that on our continent, formerly the dependable and untouchable backyard of the empire, there are several nations in which the role of the United States as an all-powerful ruler has begun to come to an end. In order to avoid another Cuba they didn't hesitate in sending more than 40,000 Marines to the tiny Dominican Republic in 1965. Now they are faced by an irresistible revolutionary wave that is shaking the continent and which is expressed in a wide range of forms.

"The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, whose President is General Juan Velasco Alvarado has carried out structural transformations, regained control over natural resources, adopted measures of social justice and defence of national dignity, and proclaimed the legitimate right of the nation to a 200-mile limit of territorial waters.

"Now when the Government and people of Peru confront the economic aggression represented by the fishing law recently put into effect by the Yankee government, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba reiterates its solidarity with Peru's just cause.

"In Chile, the Government of People's Unity, headed by Comrade Salvador Allende—a great friend of Cuba—is confronted by the maneuvers of imperialism and the fascist attacks of the privileged and the exploiters who oppose the transformations that have been started.

"The people and the Government of Panama have also defied imperialist arrogance and demand their right to sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

"The young nations of the Caribbean, such as Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago and Barbados, have announced their decision to establish relations with Cuba, defying Washington's orders—whose spokesmen have already publicly threatened to halt their so-called 'economic aid' to those countries, in yet another shameless demonstration of their arrogance and gendarme-like airs."

The war in Vietnam, where the imperialists have been overwhelmingly defeated by the Vietnamese people, aided by the solidarity and support of the socialist camp and all progressive mankind, constitutes the most eloquent example at this time of the two-faced hypocritical nature of imperialism.

It was this ceaseless imperialist hostility that has always characterized them, which imposed upon us the task of converting that guerrilla army into modern armed forces capable of defending the Revolution and its achievements in the face of a possible aggression.

It was possible to carry out this strengthening process because hundreds of thousands of men and women made a difficult and sustained effort to master the abundant and complex equipment that the Soviet Union has given our country. But the transformation of our guerrilla army into armed forces equipped with the power and the means required by modern combat would not have been possible if along with that equipment we had not been able to count on the technical, organizational and educational advice that the Soviet military specialists, who have been working here for over ten years, have provided us with.

This aid and our firm determination to start down the road to definitive emancipation made it possible to forge the present revolutionary armed forces, which, together with the modern weapons and other technical equipment have the organizational and mobilizational means to put hundreds of thousands of Cuban men and women on a war footing in just a few hours, as we have demonstrated in times of trial in the past.

The greatest guarantee we have in the face of the imperialist enemy is the determination of the working people to convert the country into an unconquerable bastion, convinced that in socialist society they have found the most correct path for the definitive solution of all their problems. But this determination must be directed to a constant improvement of the means of mobilization and the constant increase of our defensive capacity. The skill of the fighter pilots, the accuracy of those handling the rockets and guns, and the coordinated and firm actions of the infantry in every stage of the maneuver, show that they have learned what they were taught during this year of combat and political training and it indicates how those who come to this small country with invasion on their minds will be welcomed.

# FILMARQUEE

**Dhrubajyoti Roychowdhury**

WHAT happened when the *Time* weekly featured an article on the *Last Tango in Paris*—the dirtiest picture of the year—in its February issue ?

**FFC financed : Tapan Bhattacharya in PADI PISIR BORMI BAKSA : a pleasant Pandora's Box?**

Well, a loadful happened. The over-all national reaction blurted out : 'something really is terribly wrong', 'such self-righteous and moral indignation—methinks the masses doth protest too much', 'there are still many sensible people in the USA who detest such materials in their magazines', 'thoroughly' disgusting, 'saw nothing lewd or obscene' and finally; 'how long before we accept sex as part of life and rightly a subject of art ?

A balanced view from a husband and wife stated :

'My husband and I saw *Tango* and we found the film to be extremely moving, with innumberable thought-provoking complexities (not necessarily sexual) ...Granted it is a film about a certain kind of sex between two people ; however, it is most importantly a film about guilt, hypocrisy and, most of all the scourge of loneliness in an impersonal and indifferent world.'

Perhaps *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1928 could not kick as much dust as the *Tango*.

One could well imagine the shock, as reported in the *Newsweek*, of a Brooklyn schoolteacher when he dolefully proclaimed in a dark, dim Manhattan moviehouse, 'I expect this to be the dirtiest picture I have ever seen, and if it is not I want my money back.'

But the irony of all this is that Americans wanted a much more erotic picture than this ! While the show was on many an irate moviegoer from the audience booed at Marlon Brando because he was fully clothed in most of the erotic scenes When the action shifted from films to theatre the New York cops had to rush all the way to thumb down a 'give my money back' crowd ! They felt cheated because sex was not shown realistically (sic). The disappointed crowd put up an argument, 'the frankness of the

**Arati Bhattacharya in Mrinal Sen's Ek Adhura Kahini –Provocation Deshi Style ?**

language and emotion called for an equal realism in the sexual confrontations'.

We can surmise that the people who formed a saner section of American intellectuals were most happy about the picture. It had, in all reality, limned the emotions that fuel sexuality. One could imagine the disappointment of the crowd who ran all the way to see another high jinks blue film but got lost, and unexpectedly, into a disturbing story of longing and despair. A bewildered middleaged man said to the press: I have not gotten it all together yet. Maybe I haven't lived long enough to explain 'Tango' to myself.

Whether the *Tango* will rate as a porno film or not—will be judged by the posterity. And the prurient interest will analyse the ethics !

## Yankee Ethics and Korean Aesthetic

Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea recently held a film festival in Calcutta. A quotation from Kim IL Sung wrote ;

'In producing films that cater to the demands of our time, it is most important to reflect truthfully the struggle between the new and the old and vividly show the superiority of the socialistic system which opens up the broad and unlimited vistas for the people.'

And the films that were shown reflect faithfully the tone of Kim IL Sung's statement. They have not had anything ambiguous on that aspect of aesthetic requirements. The data sheet of those films will run like this :

Theme : war and revolution. Characterization : abstract ideals rather than concrete types. Necessary middle tones : nil. Aims : achievement and aspiration of a nation born anew.

*The Flower Girl* : a short story of two sisters and their long lost brother in the thirties. It shows in clear details the misery and exploitation of the feudal regime. The basic human appeal is highlighted.

*Mary Stage* : a ribtickling comedy of circus life. Fads, foibles and the comic situations make this flick as hilarious as one can imagine. Pure humour stuff.

*We Have Nothing to Envy in the World* : over-ridden with cliches of messages, hence a boring picture with one-dimensional approach.

*Among the Villagers* : an action-packed story of a woman guerilla fighter's experience in an enemy-raided village during the anti-Japanese resistance struggle. As thrilling as any topflight war picture.

*In An Enemy Occupied Town* : another war thriller closely following the pattern of 'Among the villagers'.

*A Wife's Working Place* : no wife of Bath tale ! Pinpoints the duty of a woman in a revolutionary society. Bit stale.

*On Jongryong Ridge* : couple of lessons of Alberto Moravia ! It has a text book approach to show an artist's obligation towards a revolutionary struggle. Nothing especial to mention.

So the conclusion may be drawn that the Korean films are all out to articulate a language of its own through the film media and its limitations, at present, appear to be a blending of its national folk traditions with the new socio-political ideals. Once it goes over the limitations it will show in all clarity what a socialist cinema is.

## Gandhiji Wronged !

Harbance Kumar, the West Indian director, did not know how he was going to wrong Gandhiji and Martin Luther King in his film '*The Right and the Wrong*' ! It is a melodamatic story in Bombay vein to tell the story of workers' struggle against their tyrant master in a West Indian fruit plantation. Non-violence preached with a typical Bombayite dose of sex and song-dance sequence, the pic did everything to put the hooks on ! Surprising how our master film-critic NKG of *Amrita Bazar* and *Screen* could find so much to praise this ratty garbage of a film !

**Madhabi and Sucheta Banerjee**
**in Shilpi Samshad's "Banpalashir Padabali"**
**directed by Uttam Kumar**

## The Rescue Crew of Bengali Films

Uttamkumar Chattopadhyay, yet a lovable matinee idol of Bengali films, unlike others of his ilk, has not mounted on the ivory tower of all art, all life, all great game ! He heads an organisation called Shilpi Shamsad.

The Shamsad arranges performance to help the disabled and old artistes of cinema, theatre and jatra. Music directors, singers and technicians who have fallen on hard luck get a monthly help from this organisation. Naturally, the ogranisation has members from all these branches of art.

Now, the Shamsad's latest venture had been a film, named Bon Palashir Padabali (story Romapada Chowdhury), and directed by Uttamkumar. This is running in packed houses in Calcutta. Besides Uttam's directorial penchant this film has some noteworthy features.

Uttam, in a public statement said that the entire proceeds from this film will go towards setting up a self-sufficient colony for the old and disabled artistes on the outskirts of the city.

The Shamsad hopes to make two more films for the same cause.

No artiste or technician took any remuneration for the work they had put in, even the music directors, there are three, worked free. It will all be in history.

## The Happenings

From Bengal : Shravan Sandhya with Sucitra Sen as the *primma donna* counts release date, Tapan Sinha's Andhar Pareay goes for editing, Saratchandra's Bindur Chellay with Bikas Roy's scenario gets ready for shooting, Sesh Bichar ditches its heroine Rita Roy for Anjana Bhowmik (some clique ?) at its third part, Subodh Ghose's stagehit Barbadhu tones up for films.

From Bombay : Zeenat decides to strip off in Shasi Kapoor's Manoranjan, Bandhey Hat flops, Salil Chowdhury lends music to Basu Bhattacharya's Rajanigandha, Black Mail goes outdoors !

From Madras : Bangaroo Babu with Rajesh will be a superduper hit, New Wave crawls on Southern floors, Maro Propanchan flops, Andhra movement has damaged 50 lacs of rupees of the industry in ways scrutable and inscrutable !

## BFJ's Philosophy

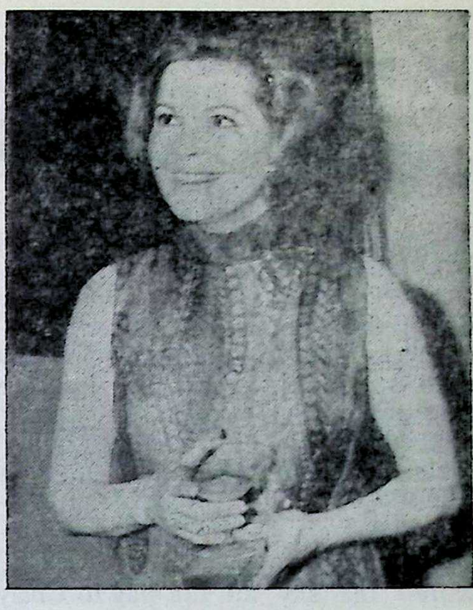
Bengal Film Journalists' Association is in fact a hang-over run-down joint of great quacks and charlatons who pass for film journalists. Its area of ignorance is never covered even when something glaring happens ! *Calcutta 71* has been rated third by its 1972 Roll of Honour ! And Dev's crude erotica Hare Krishna has been honoured by this even cruder *band of critics* !

**Nirmal Kumar, Madhabi and Subhendu in Tapan Sinha's 'Andhar Periye'**

# German Film Festival In New Delhi

## GERMAN FILM DELEGATES

*Correspondent*



JOHANNA MATZ

**"I like to do classical roles, they are deeper and you have to think about the details of acting.........."**

"We're having lot of fun for breakfast", agreed the three members of the German film delegation during an interview on a crisp morning just after the opening of the Festival of German Films in New Delhi. Sitting in a plush suite of the Ashoka they said they had all come on short notice and were very happy to be in India. Petite and graceful Johanna Matz, star of the film, 'The Captain' which was shown at the festival, interspersed her observations with easy laughter and said though she had always wanted to come to India, she had not reckoned on making it quite so soon.

Johanna's idea of Indian films was rather circumstuitiously derived: she had seen an Indian film in Italy—dubbed in Italian.

Johanna was the big scenestealer during the interview, as also at other appearances made by the delegation in New Delhi. A Viennese, she still lives there. Johanna has worked in nearly 40 films and the latest was 'The Captain' which was shot last summer. 'The Captain' was a breezy comedy and she said she liked working in it "because laughing is more difficult than weeping". However, given the choice, she would like to do more serious roles because "they are deeper and you have to think about the details of acting".

Johanna, like most European actresses, gravitates in turn between the stage, TV and screen and is a veteran of all three mediums. She is married to an actor and has a teenage son—"I learnt skiing just to keep my son's company", she said with a characteristic dazzle in her eyes that defied you to guess at her age. We did not try either.

Dr. Ernst Krueger, the leader of the delegation, thought Indian films were much too long while the thoughtful looking Reinhard Hauff, director and actor, said his only experience of Indian films was a film from Satyajit Ray's Apu Triology which he had seen some time ago. But he was keen to see more films now that he was in India.

# Give me Back My Bouquet

*By Vitali Zlotnikov*

IN ALL her 19 years Tanya had never been further then Penza—where she had an aunt—and now as she sat in the train speeding towards the East, everything was new and interesting to her. She hardly left the window, admiring the low, forest-covered hills of the Southern Urals, the broad Ob and Yenisei rivers, the endless woods which stretched along the railway.

It had been raining when she left Moscow, and clouds obscured the sky all the way to Chelyabinsk. Then all at once the sky became blue and clear, and the calm warm sun lit the carriage from morning till night. Nevertheless, right from the moment she had left Moscow Tanya felt a vague disquiet, and the further east the train went the more her disquiet grew. She asked herself what did she know about Andrei, to whom she was going? That he wrote poetry? True, Tanya considered that a man who wrote poetry did not need any other reference.

Actually it had all started with poetry. The previous year "Komsomolskaya Pravda" had printed one of Tanya's verses and Andrei wrote her a letter through the paper. In his letter he said how much he liked to meet the author. He also wrote about himself—that he lived in Irkutsk, was 20 years old, had recently finished school and was preparing to continue studies at an institute, but that meanwhile he was working as a receptionist at a polyclinic. Finally, he said that he too, wrote poetry which so far had not been printed anywhere. Tanya answered, and a regular correspondence ensued. They wrote to each other about their lives, exchanged poems, and this summer Andrei had invited Tanya to come to his place for her holidays. He promised her they would go fishing on Lake Baikal, go mountain climbing and wandering through the taiga. Tanaya's interest was aroused and despite parents' opposition she left for Irkutsk.

Yet now Tanya had misgivings—but not because she had not met Andrei. It was something quite different. In one of his letters he had a sent photo of himself and had asked her to send a snap of herself. On the photograph Andrei looked handsome and distant. Tanya was scared and felt she could not possibly send him a picture of her very ordinary face. In the end she sent Andrei one of Luda Meshkova, the prettiest girl in her institute. And now she trembled when she pictured her meeting with Anderi at Irkutsk station. Of course Andrei would not recognize her, and she would have to go over to him first. She would say:

"Are you Andrei by any chance?"

"Yes, I'm Andrei," he would answer, showing surprise.

"Are you expecting Tanya?"

"Yes." He would be even more surprised.

"I'm Tanya."

"You?!"

Tanya could imagine how amazed he would look, opening wide his eyes with their long lashes; she could see his beautiful eyes assuming a cold and distant look, and she felt terrible.

All the way from Moscow she had been watching how the men surrounding her treated her. She wanted to be reassured that despite her ordinary appearance they might like her. But her observations brought her nothing but distress. Not a single lad in her carriage showed her any special regard.

Tanya had sent a telegram to Andrei from one of the stations, notifying him when and by what train she was coming, but she had forgotton to tell him the number of the carriage. So when she alighted at Irkutsk there was nothing for her to do but to put her suitcase down and gaze at the people who met the train. She did not know Andrei's height but she was sure that he was tall.

"But where is your Andrei?" her friends in the compartment who had also got down to see her off kept asking her.

"He'll be here in a moment, he's late as usual," Tanya answered in a carefree voice, but inwardly she was beginning to get worried—what if Andrei had found out that she was not the girl in the photo and decided not to meet her? She was now sorry that she had sent him Luda's picture. It would have been much better to send Andrei one of Zina Ikorets—Zina was also very pretty but not so strikingly beautiful as

Luda, and beside Zina, Tanya would not have looked so pitiful.

"Look over there, isn't that him?" asked Valya, one of her new friends, hiding her smile and pointing at a lad in a white shirt carrying an enormous bouquet of flowers. It was apparent that he too was meeting someone and was unable to find that someone, and now he was running from carriage to carriage quite at a loss. Running about like that, the lad broke out in a seat, his hair got tuosled and his tie was askew. Tanya's friend all laughed as one, and Tanya felt annoyed with Valya—could'nt she havechosen some body better for her—than that funny boy? Or did Valya think that her slender figure and blonde hair were all that counted? Tanya too, was somebody—she was a poetess and her verses were published by "Komsomolskaya Pravda"! And when her group had gathered to celebrate May Day the first toast proposed by the boys had been Tanya's health and not Luda Meshkova's or Zina Ikorets's!

Soon the engine gave a parting hoot and Tanya's friends had to go back to their carriage without meeting Andrei. Before she left, Valya embraced Tanya and said:

"Don't worry, Tanya dear, your Andrei will turn up".

Tanya watched the train start and recede into the distance, and suddenly she felt tears coming to her eyes. She could never have believed it possible that one could get so used to other people in just a few days. And Valya had turned out to be a nice girl, after all. Tanya had been slightly envious of Valya's looks. Now she promised herself "on her Komsomol honour" to get rid of such envy forever.

The platform was now deserted but for Tanya and that funny boy with the bouquet. He stood utterly at a loss, not knowing what to do. At a moment like this one feels one has to talk to somebody, and he looked at Tanya—not for the first time either—till at last he decided to speak to her.

"An interesting thing," he started. "We seem to be in a similar situation; my guest has not turned up, and you have not been met."

"I'm all right, I only have to wait, but whoever you are meeting is certainly not turning up." Tanya answered. "I suppose you were meeting a girl?"

"Ye" she said simply. "How did you know?"

Tanya smiled: "It's easy to see that you haven't come to meet an aunt or an uncle."

The lad nodded agreement and smiled. And as soon as he smiled Tanya could see something very nice and attractive about him, and she thought perhaps there was nothing strange about Valya mistaking him for Andrei.

"Well, I'll be going," he said. "So long!"

He moved off, but after twenty or so steps he stopped, turned round and came back to Tanya.

"Will you take this," he handed the bouquet to Tanya. "It's useless to me now".

She did not reject the offer but thanked him. The young man went away and Tanya remained on the platform. Now she was really worried. What could have happened to Andrei? Tanya decided to wait a little longer and then to go to his place—she remembered the address by heart. Suddenly her new acquaintance came back again. Smiling in confusion, he said:

"You know what? Would you mind terribly giving me the flowers back? Because my friend and I might have lost one another in the crowd, and at this very moment she might actually be waiting for me at home. You don't need the flowers very much do you?"

"Of course I don't," Tanya answered, not at all hurt.

"Oh, thank you, thank you so much!" he exclaimed and hurried for the exit, taking the bouquet with him.

It was getting dark. After waiting a little longer, Tanya decided to go to a hotel. She was now against going to Andrei's suppose he wasn't expecting her? It would be better to stay in a hotel, where she could write a letter to Andrei and enclose a photograph of herself. After that important decision she felt more sure of herself. Tanya picked up her suitcase, and this moment the lad with the bouquet again appeared at the other end of the platform. He ran towards her, waving the bouquet gaily.

"I was so afraid you'd gone!" he gasped.

"You mean you decided not to be greedy after all?" Tanya laughed. She was finding him increasingly attractive.

"No," he said. "I'll keep the flowers, for the time being, but I suddenly wondered where you'd go if no one turned up to meet you?"

"I'll go to a hotel".

"I doubt if they've any from. Better come along with me. You can spend the night at our place and in the morning you can go where you want."

Tanya wavered, not knowing what to say.

"Don't be frightened—I'm not alone," he told her. "I've my mother and father at home, apart from my young sister."

Tanya smiled. The lad would be the last one she'd be afraid of—he looked least of all a Don Juan.

"All right. Let's go, but you'll be responsible for the outcome!"

"There won't be any outcome," he answered in the same gay way and, picking up Tanya's suitcase, hurried to the taxi rank. They took a car and the lad gave the driver his address.

"Lenin Street, house No. 16".

Tanya was amazed—that was the house where Andrei lived !

"What's the number of your flat ?" She asked in agitation.

"47".

"What ?!"

Only now did Tanya realize that the lad was Andrei himself. The same eyes, nose, mouth. Only the expression was different—less assured and more good-natured. Above all, she had certainly not expected he would turn out to be so short!

"Flat No. 47," Andrei repeated. "Why?"

"Because I'm that very Tanya you were to meet".

"You?! Tanya?!" he gazed at her in bewilderment, and she had to explain everything.

For a whole minute Andrei was silent, looking at her in amazement. Afterwards he said :

"I only don't understand why you sent somebody else's photograph. You're a hundred times better-looking than that doll".

"All right", Tanya assumed an air of annoyance, "let's leave the compliments for the future, and now give me back my bouquet". And without waiting, she took the flowers that were now hers by right from Andrei's hands.

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# THE WIFE

## Lev Korsunsky

"What have we got for dinner ?" I asked my wife. "800 calories," she replied. "200 calories for the first course, 300 for the second and 300 for the third."

"Could't we have 500 calories for the third ?" I asked.

"Impossible," declared my wife, "you overate by 200 calories at breakfast."

Having eaten my calories, I lay down to rest.

"Get up," she ordered, "and go for a walk. That way you can use up two or three hundred calories. Don't forget you gained an extra kilogramme last month."

I got up and put on my overcoat.

"Now what have I done that for ?" groaned my wife.

"Done what?"

"What did I eat that pie for at lunch ? I was fighting back the desire to the last and yet I failed. And now I'll look nice with 20 grammes more fat, 15 of protein and 10 of carbohydrate. That makes me 65kg. 40 gr," she calculated.

"I need to find myself someone a little lighter," I thought to myself as I stepped out into the street.

# Book Review

**Flashing Wings**, a collection of poems *by Ajit Kumar Niyogi* published by Taxila Ltd. from 56/57, Motijheel Commercial Area, Dacca, Bangladesh. pp. 48. Price Taka 5.

"FLASHING WINGS" of the renowned poet of Bangladesh, Shri Ajit Kumar Niyogi really flashes the imagination of the readers to a lofty height. Shri Niyogi's poems are indeed exhilarating and thought-provoking. Some of his poems blossom with originality and open up to the reader a world of beauty, love and humanism. The style is lucid and the rythm of the poems is simply excellent. The book has been a real contribution of Shri Niyogi to literature.

The poet has painted a vivid picture of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh in his first poem "Bangladesh". How poetically he has expressed the grim tragedy of Bangladesh through these lines:

"Dusts of anguish crimped the sky
of history

Human values ran down the spiral.

Blood ran through the arteries of the horizon,
civilisation wept for a change,

Numerous deaths worked the impost,

A new growth towered through
the signalling ruins.

A robust optimism is reflected in the last two lines.

"Bangladesh smiles a green poetry

World paints a dream on her red horizon.

The poem, "A Colourful Hope" is unique in its expression of the inner voice of the people of Bangladesh. The emergence of Bangladesh as a free Nation from the yoke of slavery has been painted superbly in the following lines:

"In the fading slavery

Lingering through centuries,

We hear the clarion call,

The unmistakable call of our Nation".

The poet has brought out the deep yarning of the toiling masses of Bangladesh through his poetic expression.

"A music we hear!

A music everywhere!

Socialism flutes!

Flutes through Nationalisation.

Economy spins out a new poetry,

A new fragrance comes on!

River of our energy bends down
a new shore of Economy.

Our Ideal tunes up our blood.

A luscious Heaven shades forth.
Socialism breathes!

A Music ! A Music !"

**"Sahid Jatindra Das and Revolutionary movement in India"** (in Bengali) *by Santosh Kr. Adhikary*) p.p. 99, price Rs. 4.00. Published by Smt. Kamala Das on behalf of Sahid Jatin Das Memorial Association from 1 Amita Ghosh Road, Calcutta-29.

The illuminating and inspiring book has been written by one who himself is a renowned poet and author of Bengal. He has brought out in a very appealing and touching way various aspects of the martyr's life who 'lived as a hero and died like a martyr'. The book is full of many anecdotes of Jatin Das's life beginning from his very childhood many of which are not commonly known.

Two things are evident from the life of the hero. He was out and out a congressman and had to leave his ancestral home owing to differences with his father. Even after joining the revolutionary group through Sachindra Nath Sannyal he maintained his touch with the Congress organisation. He was an important member of the South Calcutta District Congress Committee and during the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 he was a Major in the Bengal Volunteer Crops of which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was GOC. Jatin Das, Surya Sen and many other youngmen like them were originally members of the Congress but detracted from it because of Gandhiji's calling off of the 1921 movement and also due to the failure of the Congress to adopt a militant programme to satisfy the youth of the time.

Another aspect is that he was from the very beginning against hungerstrike as a means of getting any relief from the British Government. Although among all the relvolutionary Congress he was the only one who had experience of hunger strike during his confinement in the Mymensing Jail, he did not support Bhagat Singh and Sukh Dev resorting to hunger strike as a protest against discrimination made between political prisoners and revolutionary freedom fighters. But later on he agreed to join them reluctantly at the persuation of his co-workers. But he made it clear that once he had taken the course he would continue his fast until all their demands had been met. So while Bhagat Singh and Sukh Dev broke their fast when their demands were partially met, he continued until the last with unflinching determination and courage—persuasions of all the leaders or his friends had no effect. Slowly and surely he journyed towards death. His hands and feet become paralised one by one, he became blind but his mind remained alert till the last moment.

A vivid and interesting picture to the reaction in the country and among the leaders on the death of the great hero including Pandit Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, M. R. Jayakar has been given in the penaltimate chapter of the book. The most interesting and little known fact was the sentiment expressed by Mr. Jinha who criticised the British Govt. bitterly in the strongest of terms for their callous attitude.

The book is not restricted to the life of Jatin Das alone but gives a picture in outline of the revolutionary movement of the time, activities of Hindustan Republican Association and Bhagat Singh.

The book has an added interest in the illuminating preface by the noted revolutionary Nalini Kishor Guha.

We hope the inspiring book will be warmly received by all Bengalis specially the student community and imbibe them with the spirit of sacrifice and determination—the message of the immortal hero.

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( *Contd. from page* 54 )

of newly recorded TB cases is minimal. Compared with the situation immediately after the War, the number of doctors has trebled, from 11,008 in 1945 to 33,231 in 1970.

A good health system also necessitates a high standard in medical education. There are six medical faculties in Czechoslovakia, one faculty of hygiene and epidemiology, two faculties of pediatrics and two pharmacological faculties; the annual number of graduates is about 1.600 and 6,000 girls graduate every year from secondary medical schools. (Mostly women are employed in the health services).

Not only the general standard of medical care but also Czechoslovak medical research enjoys international renown. Very highly appreciated are the achievements in neurosurgery, cardiovascular surgery, endocrinology, pediatrics, neurology, plastic surgery, phtisiology and rheumatology. The institute of Clinical and Experimental Medicine in Prague, for example, coordinates organ transplant research in the socialist countries. In cooperation with the World Health Organization (WHO), Czechoslovak experts conduct several scientific campaigns—a survey of pulmonary tuberculosis, a survey of arteriosclerosis, and others. The Czechoslovak state also spends considerable sums on postgraduate studies and advanced training of doctors (which is obligatory) and of other medical workers.

The certainty that every citizen is fully taken care of in case of illness naturally finds positive reflection in all aspects of the life of Czechoslovak society.

# THE DAWN

Our rivers went dry
and shut out their doors to waters.
Only sand dunes languished on
the past days of racy floors.
Trees pined a way
and stood on the bank
like unwelcome guests.
Reign of terror ruled
and stifled down the life.
Sickly the moon appeared,
death and want rallied round.
Beggary and beggary !
No man ! only beggars !
A flock of wants.
Freedom has come.
The tame flow of river
flutes a new life,
inviting water, more water,
from the Himalayas.
Western machine sigh !
Sigh of western machine
is blown off by the green wind.
A new civilization of Man
is sailing through,
and the river looks happy
as a sweet eye.
It dreams ! It dreams like
a maiden in love.

# INDIRA COMES

Poetry of Crimson kisses we know,
as the green grass knows of the dew
Or the ocean knows of the waves
or as the music knows of the tone.
Poem of blood we heard in silence,
We heard its rhythm boil through the veins of
Man—
Aminal Man, down to the Man Civilised.
History stood stolid, and motionless,
though waters of change washed its walls.
Ineffectual flutters we heard at the dead of night.
Blood seeped into our soil.
Ice of so many centuries breaks,
and History moves back again !
History moves !
India moves !
The blossom of Indian culture moves !
Indira steps in and graces our soil,
The Lotus of our friendship she plucks,
A new horizon of peace she opens up,
which we shall flesh with
the flavour of human soul.
History moves ! India moves !
The flute of Love plays on.
Two Nations are locked up in an eternal tie
and Death receives a mortal death.
Indira Comes!
Humanity moves !
Armament swerves into a path of a forgotten
chapter,
Blood will not come to kiss.
Bangladesh garlands her.
A new History seeks to be born.

**—Ajit Kumar Niyogi**

(*Shri Niyogi is an eminent poet and author of Bangladesh*)

# Tyre Check While Driving

The Tele and Radio Technology Institute in Warsaw has designed an original device signalling the danger of imminent accident of motor vehicle if one of its tyres loses too much air or if one of its wheels is blocked.

Each wheel has a guage whose scale registers the speed of the wheels in kilometres per hour. Successively flashing lights show which wheel is being checked at a given moment.

The device works non-stop and each check of a wheel takes about 1·5 seconds. It signals any change of speed in a faulty wheel. Apart from the scale marked in km/h it is also possible to have sound signals, optical signals or a reading on a paper tape.

The device permits also the checking of excess wear of the threads, backlash, frictional grip of the wheels, their positioning and in case of a lorry or bus the overloading or underloading of each wheel.

## New Electronic Microscope

The 'Elmiskop-102', a new electronic microscope, magnifies an object 4·5 million times the actual size and would make a human hair appear 140 metres thick. The main purpose of the new electron, microscope, however, is to facilitate the structural examination of bacteria and virus in man's fight against disease. The image produced by the Siemens microscope is shaped by a beam of electrons accelerated with 125,000 volts of power.

## Automatic Driving Experiment

A team of Japanese automotive engineers reports important progress towards a simple, low-cost electric-powered, automatic driving system.

The system, tested extensively last year, could also be conveniently coordinated with a plan for charging auto-batteries during vehicle operation, allowing for long-distance use of electric-powered cars, the reserchers say.

Cars used in the system are equipped with two coils which detect the magnetic field created by a guidance cable laid on the road. Electric motors responding to signals from the guidance cable are used to control steering wheel, accelerator and brakes.

The automatic system keeps cars going much more steadily than is possible with manual driving, the researchers told a seminar on automotive electronics at the annual meeting of the Society of Automotive Engineers.

Mr. Toshiko Ito of the Japan Automobile Research Institute, said the steadiness of the automatically controlled car raised the possibility that electric cars could draw power from power lines set on one side of the road.

## Nikanzan

The steel mill in Temirtau, a major industrial centre of Kazakhstan, has started industrial production of nakazan, obtained from byproducts of coke-chemical manufacture. The Soviet scientists have proposed the use of nikazan, which combines several physiologically active substances, as a growth stimulator in farming. Experiments over many years show that the treatment of sugar-beet seeds with a weak nikanzan solution raises the capacity of the crop by nearly one-third and the sugar content, by 51 per cent. The quantity used is negligibly small about one gram suffices for the treatment of seeds planted on a hectare.

## The Milkyway Galaxy

Is the milkyway galaxy, of which our solar system is a microscopic part, unique ? Is this the only galaxy where life is possible ?

To find an answer, astronomers have been scanning the heavens for centuries. Recently, an ll meter-wide radio telescope at Kitt Peak in Arizona zoomed in on huge cloud formations in a galaxy called M-33, They proved to be clouds of carbonmonoxide, M-33 is a spiral galaxy, full of gas and dust like the Milkyway.

The presence of carbonmonoxide suggests that M-33 galaxy is undergoing the same turbulent changes as the Milkyway. Scientists suspect that the carbonmonoxide is debris left by the collisions of more complex chemicals like ammonia and formaldehyde.

Astronomers have discovered ammonia and formaldehyde in abundance in the Milkyway galaxy. These two chemicals, thought to be the basic building blocks of life, once come together to form the earth's atmosphere and its oceans.

This is the first time that carbonmonoxide has been discovered beyond the Milkyway. M-33 is located about 1.5 million light years from the centre of Milkyway. One light year is the distance a ray of light travels in a year. The speed of light is 297,600 kilometers a second.

The discovery, according to scientists, means that at a least one other galaxy in the universe is similar to the Milkyway and that most, if not all, of the galxies in the universe contain carbon, the chemical building block of life.

Commenting on the discovery, Mr. Philip Schwartz, scientist at the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory, said, "This finding indicates that interstellar chemistry is evolving in another galaxies just as it is in the Milkway. It suggests there is nothing unique about the Milkway.

# Bridge to Civilisations on Other Planets

*Susanna Sevoyan*

Aragats Mountain in Armenia, 3,200 metres above the sea level, with blinding-white snow and an unusually blue sky over it is the site of a research institution, entirely aloof, one might think, of earthly affairs, operating admist the clouds. This is where the astrophysicists of the Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory of the Armenian Academy of Sciences are working.

One of the boldest projects of mankind today—the problem of establishing contact with intelligent beings on other planets—is the subject of discussion more frequently now by the Soviet and other scientists at the Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory of the Armenian Academy of Sciences. Of course, we do not yet know whether even one civilisation really does exist on any other planet.

Scientists are busy investigating but hypothetical objects. However, it is not the extra-terrestrial civilisations themselves but methods for detecting them that are in focus of attention so far. The choice of methods of quests and their technical implementation depend on numerous hypotheses about the possible distribution of civilisations in the universe, about the level and nature of the development of our intelligent kin.

## Concrete Steps

And what concrete practical steps can we boast of? Under the supervision of Vsevolod Troitsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Soviet radioastronomers have conducted observations of the stars that are at a distance of 100 light years and close in charactristics to the Sun. The scientists tried to isolate regular sinusoidal signals from the galactic noise. Another experiment pursued the aim of detecting powerful short radiation pulses—possibly resulting from some one's astroengineering activity.

Quests have not produced any positive results so far. But neither are they castles in air any more. Receiving and transmitting equipment is being developed, and new, still bigger interstellar communication projects are bieng discussed. And this make the need for a firm theoretical foundation increasingly urgent. And it will be noticed that not the astronomers, but it is the biologists who are faced with the basic problem.

What is life? How great is the probability of its originating with adequate conditions available? Is man's appearance on the Earth a unique or a common-place phenomenon? How does the evolution of living matter proceed—spontaneously, or in a way predetermined a few steps ahead, at least?

Today we have no reliable data for answering this set of questions. Only some stages of biological evolution have been explained. We still have no clear complete picture of the origin of life in the Universe. Many scientists are intuitively convinced that there are no unique phenomena, including biological one's in nature. This means that other celestial bodies could have become the home of living beings, the cradle of space intellect.

The history of science knows many cases when correct general principles were not only confirmed experimentally, but also served as the point of departure for absolutely new shares of science. The confirmation of postulates often comes suddenly, and sometimes from where no one expects it to come.

## End of Hopes?

Flights to the Moon have disappointed the biologists: our natural satellite proved to be absolutely lifeless. The hypothesis about intelligent Marsians, which had for a long time been thrilling those who are found of fantastic assumptions, has failed, too. Does this mean the end of all hopes? No, it would be rash to say that.

Some fine day we may hear over the radio the report: "An automatic probe has discovered the simplest living beings on a neighbouring planet". Even if they are the most primitive microbes, the information about them will, no matter how paradoxical it sounds, provide indirect information on astroengineering activity in the remotest stellar worlds, for the ball of cardinal biological problems will start disentangling, and some new general laws of evolution will be disclosed. And then scientists will be able to estimate the number of stellar worlds to be investigated for contacting extraterrestrial civilisations. The probability of success will either increase markedly, or we shall know it to be much weaker than we thought it to be. However it may be a blow will be delt at the greatest enemy of scientific cognition—vagueness.

But support may from another side, too: not from distant space, but from the laboratory of an entirely earthly Academic Town. On a no less fine day, scientists there will produce without the aid of live parents a number of simple, but entirely live beings assembled of a set of atoms and molecules. A biochemical bit? Yes, but not a biochemical one alone. Theoretical thought will immediately develop an achievement of this kind into new, fuller concepts of the development of life. And this will add strength to the foundation of a still hypothetical scientific building.

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TAGORE NUMBER

THE CONTEMPORARY

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"The world today is wild with
the delirium of hatred.

The conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish.

Crooked are its paths, tangled
its bonds of greed.

All creatures are crying for a
new birth of things."

◆

Come young nations.

Proclaim the right of freedom.

Raise up the banner of invincible faith.

Build bridges with your life
across the gaping earth

Blasted by hatred,

And march forward.

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# Voice of Great Men

The resistance of a people advanced in knowledge has ever been not against the existence, but against the abuse of the governing power.

*—Raja Rammohan Roy.*

Strength is the one thing needful. Strength is the medicine for the world's disease. Strength is the medicine which the poor must have when tyrannised over by the rich. Strength is the medicine which the ignorant must have when oppressed by the learned.

Truth is strengthening knowledge. Truth must be strengthening, must be enlightening, must be invigorating.

*—Swami Vivekananda.*

If India is to survive she must be made young again, Rushing billowing streams of energy must be poured into her ; her soul must become, as it was in the old times, like the surges, vast, puissant, calm, or turbulent at will, an ocean of action or of force.

I do not ask for Mukti, I do not ask for anything which others ask for I ask only for strength to uplift the nation, I ask only to be allowed to live and work for the people whom I love and to whom I pray that I may devote my life.

*—Sri Aurobindo.*

As I look around I see crumbling ruins of a proud civilisation strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in the history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps the dawn come from the East where the sun rises.

Unless we have true faith in freedom, knowing it to be creative, manfully taking all risks, not only do we loose the right to claim freedom, but we also lack the power to maintain it with all our strength. For that would be like assigning the service of God to a confirmed atheist.

Throughout the ages, civilised communities have contained groups of nameless people. They grow up on the leavings of society's wealth, with the least clothes and least education and they serve the rest. They toil most, yet theirs is the largest measure of indignity. At the least excuse they starve and are humiliated by their superiors. They are deprived of everything that makes life worth living. They are like the lampstand bearing the lamp of civilisation on their heads ; people above receive light, while they themselves are smeared with trickling oil.

*—Tagore.*

I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities will live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, for the curse of intoxicating drugs and drinks. Women will enjoy the same rights as man. This is the India of my dreams.

*—Mahatma Gandhi.*

The first phase of Communism, therefore, cannot yet provide justice and equality : differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still persist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible to seize the means of production—the factories, machines, land, etc. and make them private property.

Until the higher phase of communism arrives, the socialists demand the strictest control by society and the state over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption ; but this oontrol must start with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the establishment of worker's control over capitalists, and must be exercised not by a state of bureaucrats, but by a state of armed workers.

*—Lenin*

The famous nineteenth century saying about 'government of the people, by the people and for the people' failed to materialise in practice because under the capitalist system the government was neither by the people nor for the people. It was a government by the possessing classes for their own benefit. The people, according to them, were themselves ; all others were in the outer darkness. A real government by the people and for the people can only be established when the masses hold the power that is under Socialism when all the people really share in the government and the wealth of the country.

The time has surely come when every Indian must look within and ask for himself whether he is with the nation or with a particular group. This is the challenge of our times that every man, woman and child must face.

*—Jawaharlal Nehru.*

Do you want the fragrance of the full-bloomed rose ? If so, you must accept the thorns. Do you want the sweetness of the shining dawn ? If so, you must live through the dark hours of night. Do you want the solace of freedom ? If so, you must pay the price. And the price of liberty is suffering and sacrifice :

To-day I demand one thing above all. I demand of you blood. It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom.

*—Netaji.*

We socialits must understand above all that socialism is not a doctrine of poverty and want, even if equally shared, but that road to the improvement of the living conditions of all people. Socialism therefore goes with growth. What our plans of development do is to achieve growth, expand the social share of economic activity, reduce inequalities, lay the basis of national strength and assign to human investment the importance it deserves.

Democracy is government by discussion and persuasion. It is government under laws made for all people by representatives freely chosen by them. It can flourish only when there is respect for law on the part of both majority and minority parties.

*—Smt. Indira Gandhi*

# Gurudev Tagore's Poem

How little I know of this world :
deeds of men, cities, rivers,
mountains, arid wastes, unknown
creatures, unacquainted trees,
The great Earth teems
and I know merely a niche.
Deprived, I travel with my eyes
gathering word-glimpses, pictures
that fill my areas or inexperience
with wealth.
I am a poet of the earth :
my flute replays its tunes.
I fill its callings with my dreams
and hear the harmony in the
silent hours of my heart.
Inaccessible snowy ranges
call me ever again
with music unheard.
The Polar star, far, alone
has touched my sleepless eyes.
The waterfall
dances in my heart as I have heard
the primal song of nature,
I have heard the symphony of being.
Man stands farthest in this mystery,
hidden in time and space.
To know him is to commune and love.
Seldom have I won access.
my ways of life have intervened.
The tiller,
the weaver,
the fisherman
all sustain the world with labor.
I have known them from my corner of renown,
unable to enter the intimate precincts.
I know the song basket is empty
if filled with trinkets when links
are gone between life and life.
And I know my failure
whenever my song has been incomplete,
whenever it has missed the all.
So I am here waiting for the message
from the poet of the world,
of the peasant, the comrade
Whose words and deeds have concurred.
May his words reveal, not hoodwink,
nor tempt the eye alone.
May he give what I have not,
May he save himself from a
mimic sympathy for laborers.
Come, poet of the multitudes,
sing song of obscure man.
reveal his unspoken soul,
soothe his humiliated heart,
restore life and song to this dry land.
Resuscitate the failing hearts of hidden men.
May your voice reflect those standing bowed.
Let the one-stringed minstrel, also,
add his tune
to the great court anthem of the muse.
Come, poet of the new age,
lead me to those hearts
so far away, those hearts so near.
May they know themselves through
you whom I salute.

# We Offer Our Reverential Homage to Karl Marx The Creator of Memorable communist Manifesto and Das Capital, and Maxim Gorkey-The Immortal author, on the Sacred Occasion of Their Birth anniversary

"To Hegel........" wrote Marx, "the process of thinking, which under the name of 'the idea', he even transforms into an independént subject, is the demiurgos (creator) of the real world......With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought".

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles", wrote Marx in the Communist Manifesto (except the history of the primitive community–Engels added).

"Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed. stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes......

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes. new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature : It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisic and proletariat.".

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisic today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class, The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry: the proletariat is its special and essential product.

"The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant—all these fight against the bourgeoisic, to save from exitinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

**Karl Marx**

What's man ? Not you, nor me, nor him, Oh no ! But you and me and him and the old man, and Napoleon and Mohammed all in one ! Comprehend ? That's tremendous ! It includes all beginnings and all endings. All things are part of Man; all things are for Man. Only Man exists; the rest is merely the work of his hands and his mind. How marvellous is Man ! How proud the word rings—MAN ! A man should be respected. Nor pitied—Pity is degrading. Respected ! How good to feel one self a Man ! I've always despised people who think too much about their bellies. The belly isn't the main thing. Indeed it isn't. Man is superior to that. Man is superior to his belly !

We know well enough how to keep when we're content with life, Don't we ? Each of us nibbles his happiness in secret, but he takes his pricks and pains out into the street to be displayed to everybody and lemoaned from the house-tops. We poison the air with the refuse thrown out of our kitchens. In just the same way we throw out the garbage of our souls. Oh, there 's no doubt but that hundreds and thousands of healthy people perish from the poison of our moans and groans. Who ever gave us the right to make a display of our sores ?

We ought to be different—all of us. We're the childran of cooks and laundresses of wholesome working people and we ought to be different. Never before have Russians of education been connected with the masses by ties of blood. These blood ties ought to fill us with a desire to improve and brighten and expand the lives of those, our kith and kin, who sweat in darkness and dirt from morning to night. Not for pity of them, nor for charity's sake, should we seek to escape an accursed isolation, to annihilate the yawning precipice out of which our kith and kin gaze up at us on the heights as at their enemies, who live by their labour. They sent us ahead to find a road leading to a better life for all; we went ahead and got lost. And in this isolation of our own creating our lives are filled with alarm and torn by contradictions. That is the real drama of our lives. But we ourselves are to blame for it. We deserve the suffering we have brought on ourselves, and we have no right to poison the air with our groans.

*Gorky—*

# Editorial

## Rabindranath, the Lover of Mankind.

On the historic birthday of Gurudev Rabindranath we join with the lovers of Tagore's immemorable writings and thoughts to pay homage of deep love and respect to the memory of the inspiring poet and philosopher of the world. Tagore was true symbol of India's culture and art. On the one hand Tagore's writings ignited the spirit of burning patriotism among the countrymen while on the other as a philosopher of love and humanism he stirred up the conscience of the world for the establishment of everlasting peace.

The immemorable birthday of Tagore dawns on the 8th May this year when the world is facing the mad race for gold and power. While the deepening economic crisis due to the abnormal greed of the privileged few and the inhuman aggression of the mighty powers against the weak nations and the suicidal utilisation of modern science and technology for the manufacture of nuclear and other deadly weapons for colossal destruction have overshadowed the international horizon with stormy clouds, Tagore's birthday strings a melodious tune of universal love and lasting peace.

In the wake of the rise of the vicious spirit of regionalism, communalism. casteism, linguism and separatism again in India which are eating into the vitals of the nation and thus disintegrating our national solidarity, the patriotic writings of Gurudev should dispel the dark clouds enveloping the political horizon of the countryby ushering in true love for the Motherland. In this critical juncture of India and the world when economic crisis is sharpening due to growing polarisation of the economic and political forces, the deepening struggle between the rich and the have-nots, the developed countries and the backward ones, the onslaught of the mighty against the weaker ones, the inhuman racialism of the whites in Africa, the barbarous bombing upon Cambodia, the sinister imperialist design to keep up their hegemony over the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have vitiated the international horizon, the memorable birthday of Rabindranath should arouse the spirit of humaneness in India and the world.

The dazzling light of the magnificent writings of Rabindranath, the great philosopher, poet and humanist should stir up the conscience of the world to rise to a man against the mad rush for wealth and power that brings about colossal waste of the world's resources both in men and material for the stockpilling of huge quantity of Hydrozen bombs of million TNT and other deadly weapons which are sufficient to annihilate the human race and his creations.

This inspiring poem of Rabindranath gave expression to the real picture of the world to-day.

> "The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred,
> the conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish,
> crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed.
> All creatures are crying for a new birth of things.
> ……………………………………………………………
> O Serene, O Free,
> in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness
> wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.
> Man's heart is anguished with the fever of unrest,
> with the poison of self—seeking,
> with a thirst that knows no end.
> Countries far and wide flaunt on their foreheads
> the blood-red mark of hatred.
> Touch them with thy right hand,
> make them one in spirit,
> bring harmony into their life,
> bring rhythm of beauty.

Rabindranath in his young age also joined the revolutionary movement for the liberation of Motherland. He composed revolutionary patriotic poems to instill among the youths the spirit of burning love for the Motherland. But the poetic and philosophic trend guided him to the realm of art, literature and philosophy from the stormy arena of politics.

Rabindranath was not only a philosopher and a poet but also a revolutionary patriot with great emotion for his Motherland. The brutal massacre of Jallianwala Bagh shocked him so much that he came out of his poetic dreamland to condemn unequivocally the inhuman repressive policy of the British Government and relinquished his 'Nighthood'. Rabindranath also raised his voice of condemnation in a mammoth public meeting in Calcutta against the barbarous murder of two detenues Santosh Mitra and Tarakeshwar Sen in Hizli jail of Bengal. His fiery patriotic poems ignited love for the Motherland among the youths of the country.

He founded the Vishwabharati university to build up new men imbibed with the lofty ideal of humanism. He had the vision of training real men and women of his image through Shantiniketan and Vishwabharati university. As a man of the world he gave a concrete shape to the cooperative movement in India by setting up the model of cooperative movement at Sriniketan. He wanted to bring home to the people that the cooperative movement was the real instrument to wipe out the acute poverty and unemployment in the rural areas. He was of opinion that the real India was throbbing in the 750000 villages although steeped in the darkness of poverty, ignorance and superstition. He impressed upon his countrymen that all out efforts should be made to improve the economic and cultural life of the rural people.

The unparalleled miseries of the pauperised Indian masses deeply moved the poetic mind of Rabindranath. He opined, "No sound and stable society can be built up on the basis of inequality or injustice".

His august visit to Soviet Russia convinced him about the urgency and efficacy of the socialist system which dawned a new era of human civilisation based on justice, equity and scientific distribution of wealth. He was simply charmed to see for himself the magnificent achievements of Soviet Russia in rooting out poverty, hunger, illiteracy and unemployment and thus building up a happy humanistic social order for the complete transformation of the suffering masses.

Rabindranath was really the harbinger of peace. As a citizen of the world he spread through his memorable writings, the message of India, the philosophy of love, humanism and universal brotherhood.

He clearly visualised that the world was heading towards cyclic crisis due to the abnormal exploitation of man by man and nation by nation.

Rabindranath's following prophetic words gave a message to the world, "As I look around, I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilisation strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter of history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps the dawn will come from this horizon, from the East, where the sun rises. It is the mission of civilisation to bring unity among people and establish peace and harmony".

The splendid victory of man in revolutionising the worn-out social order into a scientific and just social system for the prosperity, happiness and progress of mankind deeply moved Tagore with such overwhelming joy that he gave expression to his own limitation in the following words ;

And I know my failure
Whenever my song has been incomplete
Wherever it has missed the all.
So I am here waiting for the message from the poet of the world,
of the peasant, the comrade,
whose words reveal, not hoodwink, nor tempt the eye above.
May he give what I have not,
May he save himself
from a mimic sympathy for labourers.
Come, poet of the new age,
lead me to those hearts
so far away, those hearts so near.
May they know themselves through you,
whom I salute".

Let the sublime spirit of Gurudev Rabindranath's inspiring poems and writings illumine the horizon of India and the world to wipe out the dark clouds enveloping the globe due to the abnormal greed of man for wealth and power and awaken the drooping conscience of the world to the spirit of humaneness, peace, truth and justice to strive indomitably and ceaselessly for the establishment of a just social order and everlasting peace in this strifetorn world.

## II

# Conspiracy of the Neoimperialists

The forces of right reaction have ganged up under the inspiration and design of the neoimperialists and have raised their ugly heads in different parts of India to create chaos in the country on one pretext or the other. They have set up a vicious plan to stir up turmoil for retarding the progress of India. They have been desperately attempting to vitiate the political horizon with the pernicious spirit of regionalism, linguism, communalism, casteism and separatism. The antinational venom has cast its gloom all over the country.

The unique solidarity of the Indian people exhibited during the Pak aggression hurled severe shock to the enemies of the country. The mighty neoimperialists miserably failed to push through their imperialistic game of keeping this part of the world under their hegemony due to the magnificent leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi. The liberation of Bangladesh inflicted a crushing blow to the global strategy of the imperialist camp. So, the neoimperialists and their agents have launched onslaught against the progressive policy of Smt. Gandhi.

The radical measures of Smt. Gandhi's government such as nationalisation of Banks, General Insurance, abolition of Privy Purse, Monopoly Commission Bill, Ceiling of land, taking over the coal and copper mines and the wholesale procurement of the foodgrains, have shaken up the very foundation of the entire vested interests in the country. The privileged people know it very well that many other progressive measures are in the offing and the axe will fall upon them sooner or later. So the united front of all reactionary elements have taken shape with the patronage of the imperialist camp to put a brake in the wheel of progress of the country.

The mighty imperialists have taken up the strategy to attack India both from within and outside. They have armed the Pak army to the teeth with modern armaments. They have succeeded considerably to blow up the Simla Agreement. President Bhutto's rope dancing with his master's tune to nullify the peace proposal of India and Bangladesh has nakedly exposed the conspiracy of the neoimperialists to flare up again a fresh conflagration in this subcontinent. The colossal supply of heavy armaments to Pakistan has emboldened the Pak rulers to put the joint proposal of India and Bangladesh in cold storage. President Bhutto has lodged complaint to the international court against the Govt. of India to scuttle the offer of India and Bangladesh for the establishment of Peace in the subcontinent. Under the guidance of the US imperialists a new military alliance has developed between Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Jordon. China is also extending its help to this block to counteract Soviet influence in this region. The US strategy is to entrench its control over the oil resources of the Middle East as well as the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean. The US rulers are greatly strengthening the military might of this newly set-up block with the supply of colossal quantity of heavy armaments, bombers and fighters There is every likelihood that a fresh nuclear base may be set up in Pakistan to augment their plan to keep vigilant watch on Soviet Russia. As they have built up a strong military base in Thailand to control South East Asia, so they have drawn up a plan to set up also a powerful military base in this region. The neoimperialists do not want India to grow powerful economically and militarily. They are attempting to set up a chain of military bases around India to pressurise her to submission.

The neoimperialists are eagerly waiting to take advantage of the deepening crisis in food and power shortage acutely affecting the production in India. Their calculation is that the sharpening economic crisis coupled with growing internal strife and the planned Pak onslaught inspired and aided by them will force the Indian Government to give up her bold foreign policy and to toe their line. The new military block which is being set up by the US imperialists in this region in collaboration with China will threaten the security and peace of this part of the globe. As the spirit of detente has engulfed the political horizon of Europe under the magnificent initiative of Soviet Union, the Pentagon has set up sinister design to boost new military alliance for flaring up fresh conflagration in this region.

The US oil cartels want to grab the vast oil resources of the Middle East for which they are also desperately attempting to create division in the growing unity of the Arab countries.

On the one side Israel with the colossal US aid is carrying on aggression against the Middle East countries while on the other Iran, Jordon and Saudi Arabia are being militarily strengthened by the US supply of heavy armaments to keep up war—tension in this part. The huge flow of modern weapons to Pakistan from the imperialists is meant to ignite a fresh conflict in this subcontinent to put hurdles in the economic development of India and Bangladesh. It is true indeed that the mighty neo-imperialists can ill afford to allow India to achieve economic self-sufficiency and to grow as a mighty nation. The crushing defeat of the US imperialiats in Vietnam and Bangladesh episode has made them desperate to unleash a new offensive against India. The Indo-Soviet treaty is indeed the bulwark of peace in this region. No doubt the growing might of Soviet Union has forced the US imperialists to accept the principle of peaceful co-existence with Soviet Russia, but at the same time they are taking up all-out measures to counteract Soviet influence in Asia and Africa. They are conscious that India with her vast resources of men and material added with the scientific and technological cooperation of USSR is sure to develop within a short period as one of the most powerful countries of the world. So, the US strategy is to set up their agents to attack India from within and outside to sabotage all her economic programmes for development.

The Congress which is the instrument to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people should make the teeming masses of India conscious about the critical situation that India is facing to-day.

The Congress leaders are to enthuse the people with burning patriotism for their active participation in achieving success of all radical measures of the Government. The solution of the acute food problem solely depends on the success of the taking over of the entire procurement of the foodgrains. This progressive policy of the Government if implemented properly, is sure to save the country from the artificial food-scarcity created by the monopoly traders. India is not short of foodgrains. Shortage of foodgrains is manipulated by the vested interests to rob more profit from the people. The Congress workers should mobilise the people to co-operate in the task of procurement and distribution. The Congress must be streamlined with dedicated and selfless workers to face the new onslaught of the enemies of India from within and outside.

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# Comments

## Education

It is heartening that Prof. Nurul Hassan, the present Union Minister of Education has taken up plan to reorganise the entire education system of the country to suit the needs of the people.

It is really unfortunate that even after 26 years of independence more than 38 crores of people have not been able to get the light of education. Even to-day more than 38 crores of people are illiterate. Education which is essential for the proper functioning of democracy has not yet been imparted to all citizens of India. It is high time that the Education Ministry should take up the requisite measures to eradicate illiteracy from the country for enabling the teeming masses to particiapte actively in the great revolution of national construction.

The men at the helm of affairs of education should bear in mind that the system of education in a free country should be scientifically oriented to meet the urges and needs of the people. We are still following the same pattern of education which was introduced by the British rulers to suit their purpose of creating a large number of clerks for their administration. We must not forget that our education should be ment to create real men and women. who will be able to take up their due share in building up new India of the image of Gandhi, Nehru, Netaji and the galaxy of great men who sacrificed their everything for the country.

The school curriculum must include the history of India's liberation struggle. The life of the martyrs and other heroic freedom fighters who sacrificed their everything for the country should be compulsory texts of the students. The spirit of patriotism and love for the mankind as a whole should be instilled among the students in their school days. The education should be scientific and technically oriented so that the students may be of use both in the field and the factory.

As our country is still a poverty-stricken one with barely Rs. 30/- a month per capita income we should have less costly education. We should follow the ideal of Gurudev Rabindranath who started his Vishwabharati under the shade of trees. A poor country like India can ill afford palatial buildings that are being constructed now a days for the universities. colleges and schools. We should invest minimum amount for the buildings of the educational institutions. The colossal amount that are being spent now for these purposes should be better utilised for the spreading of education among the illiterate masess. We should take the help of the film industry to eradicate illiteracy from the country within a short period. Educational films should be prepared on a large scale on science, health, liberation struggle and life of the great men to educate the students.

The Education Ministry should harness the services of the unemployed educated youngmen in the task of wiping out the darkness of illiteracy from our Motherland. The vast number of educated unemployed can be entrusted with the responsibility of spreading education among the adults of the country.

We should emulate the example of the Soviet Russia where illiteracy was rooted out within a short period after the great October Revolution. Great Lenin declared immediately after the revolution, "Education and electrification are the two foremost tasks of the Soviet State."

It is however true that the fund alloted to the ministry is limited. More funds should be alloted in the budget for education to fulfil this basic needs of the countrymen.

## Power Shortage

Power shortage is a burning problem of India today. The shortage of electric power due to the failure of generating resources has put a brake in the progress of our production both in the field and the factory. In this age of science and technology power is essential for development and progress. In a developing country like India power is all the more necessary to bring about speedily prosperty and progress by eliminating poverty and unemployment. The vast resources of India both in men and material can be properly utilised with the help of power. Fuel and power are the foremost basic needs for economic development.

Even the developed countries of the world are to-day vigorously hunting for sources of fuel and power to unravel and overcome problems related to future. Not only in India but throughout the world demand for fuel and power is growing dynamically.

The people at the helm of affairs should harness the best services of the Indian scientists and technologists to research intensively for fresh sources of fuel and power other than the methods followed so long.

India is fortunate to get the unlimited resources of the energy of the Sun. If 10% of it can be utilised, it can solve the problem of our fuel and power for centuries to come. The sunshine which smiles on this vast land of India throughout the year carries with it more than 20 times the energy of the total reserves of coal, oil and natural gas in the country.

The scientists of India should pay their attention to harness the source of energy contained in the enormous quantity of sea water engulfing the entire southern belt of India.

The planners should bear in mind that the reserves of the existing fuels that is coal, oil and natural gas will be speedily depleted after the end of the present century.

We should strive to harness the nuclear fuels, chiefly uranium, which will provide much greater power reserves than the reserves of coal, oil and gas.

The fissionable isotope of uranium, if utilised to a large extent can revolutionise India's living conditions. The development of the breeder reactors will fulfil the requirements of power in India for thousands of years.

The planners should visualise what will be the quantum of requirement of power in the future days to come. To-day India is facing acute shortage of power and consequently production of the country will be greately affected In a developing country like India with 2.5% population explosion, the urgent requirement of power will greatly increase with the greater demand of more production. The planners must have the vision to plan out according to the present and future requirements of the country. They are to give serious thought how to check the environmental pollution emanating from the power stations. The problems are no doubt difficult but not insoluble. It must be borne in mind that the development of power industry constitutes in its wake danger to the civilisation by polluting the environment.

## Rising Africa

The inhuman oppression and abnormal exploitation of the racialists and colonialists pushed the people of Africa to the last ditch to rise in revolt to smash the chains of salvery. Africa has shaken off the centuries old unconsciousness and is awakening to fight for liberty and their human rights. The entire Africa from one end to the other is throbbing today with the pulsation of a great awakening.

The freedom fighters of Mozambique, Comoro Islands, Tanzania, South Africa, Angola are to-day carrying on heroic struggle to break open the shackles of slavery and oppression.

Mozambique's patriots have succeeded to liberate 4 of their country's 9 provinces from the colonialists. The guerrila units are systematically attacking the stronghold of the colonial rulers. The liberated people of Mozambique have started a new life of construction by developing farming and handicrafts as well as setting up educational and health services.

The valiant freedom fighters of Angola are facing heroically the terrific onslaught of the Portuguese colonialists. They are receiving great help from the Zambian fighters. Bitter fighting is being conducted by the dedicated freedom fighters in the South Western and North Western parts of the country. America is extending military aid to the Portuguese colonialists to have a lion share in the exploitation of the large deposites of oil in the off-shore shelf here. Mr. Vorster is also stengthening the hands of the Portuguese with the aid of arms, aircrafts and military advisers.

The complete liberation of Angola and Mozambique will bring about a revolutionary change in the whole continent.

It is indeed heartening that the unity among the freedom fighters of different countries of Africa is developing. The success of their struggle is a certainty. But the unity among the freedom fighters can expedite the success of their struggle.

## Change in Swaziland

King Sobhuza II, the 74 year old King suddenly assumed all power on April 12th cancelling the country's Constitution and banned all political parties and organisations. He authorised his army and the police to keep up law and order. The King was of the opinion that the 1968 constitution did not serve the needs and urges of the people and was retarding the progress of the country. He declared that the existing political parties totally unsuited to the Swazi people.

## Reunification of North and South Korea

The brilliant initiative of the Korean democratic Republic to reunify the artificially vivisected parts of Korea was warmly hailed by all common people of South Korea and the entire peace loving people of the world. The negotiation that started last year has not made much progress due to the interference of the US imperialists. No doubt the representatives of South Korea expressed their warm support to the idea of peaceful reunification at the conference table. But unfortunately the South Korean rulers under the inspiration of the US imperialists have put a brake to the progress of the negotiation.

It is indeed interesting to note that even now the US rulers maintain 46 thousand aggressive troops in South Korea and arming to the teeth the 7 lakhs armed forces of South Korea. While the Korean Democratic Republic offered peaceful relation to be established between North and South, the US imperialists and their henchmen, the South Korean warmongers renewedwar tension by arranging army movement. The Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean people's Democratic Republic has appealed to all parliaments and governments of the world to extend their help in eliminating foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea. North Korea has raised a legitimate and just demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American forces from South Korea. The Supreme People's Assembly has also urged upon the US Congress to withdraw its troops from South Korea and also to stop military aid to South Korea.

The North Korean parliament's demand for the elimination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea deserves unequivocal support from the fighters for justice and peace of the world. The entire peace-loving people of the globe should extend their all-out help and support to the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea.

## Israel's New Aggression

The entire peace loving people of the world unequivocally condemned Tel-Avive's aggression upon Lebanon. On the return of Mrs. Golda Meir from US, Israelis launched fresh offensive against the Arab countries under a new design. They started a policy of "State Terrorism". The Israeli secret agents are now conducting terrorist activities not only in the Arab capitals but also in other countries of the world. The recent Israeli terrorist outrage of murdering leading members of the Palastenian movement in Beirut has rudely shocked the world. The Israeli rulers with the colossal aid of USA are bent upon carrying on their aggressive designs against the Arab states and the Palestenian resistance movement. They are flagrantly violating all international norms.

It is high time that the UN should take strong measure to dawn better sense among the Israeli rulers for the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

## Cambodia Burning

Although the mighty US rulers were forced to quit Vietnam due to their heavy loss of more than 3 lakhs US soldiers and destruction of their several thousands fighters and bombers, they started their new theatre of war in Cambodia since the early part of March with heaviest bombing raids by 50 to 60 B52s and upto 115F-111 fighter bombers. The new drama of colossal human destruction is being staged under the direction of General John Vogt. from the Seventh US Air Army Head Quarters, stationed in the Thai town of Nakhom Phanom. The US rulers have been trampling down the terms and conditions of the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam. Cambodia is being devastated under the new US plan and thus more than 3 million population of Cambodia have been turned into refugees.

Even the American Senators have strongly protested against such carpet bombing. Mr. Mike Mansfield, democratic leader in the Senate has catagorically declared that US has no justification to interfere in the affairs of Cambodia. Edward Kennedy has raised his voice of protest against this brutal massacre of the innocent men, women and children of Cambodia. But in spite of heavy bombing the national liberation forces of Cambodia are making headway in their grim struggle for the liberation of their country.

The bitter lessons of Vietnam have failed to dawn better sense among the US rulers to change their global strategy of flaring up conflagration in one country and the other.

## Problem-Ridden West Bengal

The people of Bengal were the worst victims of the naked exploitation and brutal oppression of the British rulers in India.

Since the day of the Palassey Battle when the British captured Bengal by treachery and bribery, the people of Bengal began to face the ordeal of acute poverty, hunger, unemployment, malnutrition and disease due to unusual blood-sucking by the British. The abnormal greed of the British merchants pauperised 'Golden Bengal' to the last limit and chronic famine and starvation death became the order of the day. Once a happy and prosperous Bengal before the advent of the British, was turned into a famine and poverty stricken land by the cruel exploitation of the colonial rulers. The bled-white impoverished people were pushed to the last ditch to rise in revolt against the exploitation of the alien rulers.

The inhumanly oppressed people of Bengal since the defeat of the Palassey battle, organised several times revolutionary upsurge in the shape of Sannyasi Revolt, Indigo-Plantation workers' revolt, Wabhy movement, Sepoy mutiny of 1857 in Barrackpore and successive revolutionary struggle under the heroic leadership of Jatin Mukherjee, Rashbehari Bose, Arabindo Gose, Master Surya Sen and a galaxy of martyrs and relentless freedom fighters. Thousands of Bengal youths sacrificed their precious lives for the liberation of Motherland Thousands of brave patriots smilingly embraced death on the scaffold and through British bullets in their prime youth to break open the chains of the imperialist rule. The indomitable burning patriotism of the Bengal youths, since the Swadesi movement of 1905 hurled severe blow to the British rule in India and pushed the imperialist rulers out of gear.

The British rulers took up inhuman repressive measures in Bengal to suppress the national liberation struggle. The barbarous oppression of the British Government totally ruined thousands of patriotic families of Bengal.

In the wake of the historic march of the Azad Hind Fouz under the unique leadership of Netaji, on the Imphal front, the panicky British rulers created artificial famine in Bengal in 1943 which took the toll of more than 5 million human lives and millions of cattle and thus brought about utter ruin of the socio-economic system in Bengal.

The impact of the unique liberation struggle of the INA under Netaji ignited the spirit of revolt among the Indian Naval forces as well as land and air forces which culminated in the historic revolt of the RIN and unrest among the Indian military.

In spite of the sinister British machination the magnificent unity of the toiling masses, students, youths and the labour forces of Bengal in particular, unnerved the British rulers. The imperialists designed a vicious plot to inflict a deadly blow to the life of Bengal by partitioning the province. So, the British rulers before quitting India engineered communal riot in Calcutta and Noakhali to pave the ground for the partition of Bengal. They knew very well that hundreds of Bengal youths laid down their precious lives to unsettle Lord Curzon's design of Bengal Partition. So they flared up the suicidal fratricidal warfare in 1946 to mould the psychology of the people to swallow the bitter pill of partition.

On the historic 14th August 1947 Bengal was most unjustly vivisected to the utter ruin of the province. Lakhs of people lost their ancestral hearth and home and were turned into pauperised refugees. The imperialist conspiracy totally ruined millions of families and caused premature death of many millions of men, women and children. Thus the revolutionary people of Bengal paid the price of liberation. Even to-day after 26 years of independence the devastating and demoralising effects of the imperialist-designed partition are still looming large in West Bengal. The ruined economy miserably failed to make provision for the growing population.

The unjust partition practically shattered the economy of West Bengal. The flow of refugees in millions overburdened the limited resources of West Bengal, and thus aggravated the problem of unemployment, poverty, housing and health. A large number of refugees faced slow death due to want of food and accomodation. Even to-day a huge number of refugees lead the life of destitutes without any hope of rehabilitation. These unfortunate victims of partition have not received requisite help either from the Government or from the nonofficial organisations to get themselves properly rehabilitated. These homeless have-nots constitute a complex problem for West Bengal.

During the last 26 years of freedom, West Bengal has not been able to make much headway economically. Many states of India have gone ahead of her in their economic progress, although West Bengal was the topmost industrialised state at the time of the transference of power. West Bengal has gone down even in education in spite of its leading position in 1947. It has excelled all states in unemployment and poverty.

The great city of Calcutta, which was one day sanctified by the close association of a galaxy of great men like Raja Rammohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Keshab Sen, Ramkrishna Parama Hansha, Swami Vivekananda, Suren Banerjee, Bepin Pal, Jagadish Bose, Gurudev Rabindra nath, Sri Arobindo, Chittaranjan, Jatindra Mohan, Netaji Subhas Chander Bose, Sarat Chatterjee and many other luminaries reflects to-day the most deplorable and decaying condition with millions of educated unemployed, lahks of footpath dwellers and half-starving millions. This historic city which was the nerve centre of India's renaissance and national awakening is now fast approaching its doomsday.

During the last 26 years, the Calcutta Port, the heart of Calcutta's economic life, has been gradually losing its importance due to silting of the Ganges bed. As the high tonnage ships cannot now enter the Calcutta harbour, they are being diverted to other ports. The Ganges, the life line of Calcutta and West Bengal is to-day in a moribund condition due to our utter negligence and inefficiency. The much-boosted river scheme of diverting Ganges water to the South will completely dry up the Ganges bed within a few years and thus will turn Calcutta into a dead city.

West Bengal is rich in her resources both in men and material. The vast natural resources of coal, minerals, oil, natural gas, forest, river and sea must be utilised scientifically. The highly qualified hands as well as millions of unfortunate educated unemployed must be harnessed without delay to fulfil the great task of building up West Bengal free from poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease and malnutrition. Bengal must regain the glory of its heritage.

If the vast number of unemployed are given proper opportunity they can contribute their mite in the construction of the province.

It is high time that the people at the helm of affairs should mobilise the entire resources in men and material to build up new West Bengal. If the youths find no opening, they are likely to knock their heads against the blocking wall and may resort to suicidal activities. These youths who may be assets of the land, if properly tackled, may turn into anti-social elements if they are pushed to the last ditch.

A long and short term plan on scientific lines should be taken up without any delay to rebuild West Bengal of prosperity and progress.

A chain of small industries and power based cottage industries should be set up in each subdivision of the State to make provision for the educated unemployed.

Co-operative farming should be organised throughout the State to step up food production as well as to provide a large number of educated unemployed. The land ceiling laws should be immediately implemented to increase the production in the field. The West Bengal Government should harness the services of the educated unemployed to root out illiteracy from the province. A large number of youngmen may be provided in this great task of liquidating illiteracy altogether. The Government must take up concrete scheme for provision of the uuemployed youths. As the price of essential commodities is soaring up abnormally the unemployed people are undergoing unusual sufferings. The people at the helm of affairs should bear in mind that hunger knows no law. The unfortunate unemployed youths must not be pushed to the last wall. The Government must take up scientific programmes immediately to solve the burning problems of West Bengal.

## President Bhutto's Somersault

President Bhutto's latest action in lodging a complaint with the international court to scuttle the peace proposal of India and Bangladesh has nakedly exposed Bhutto's true colour. The extremely generous proposal of Bangladesh to have public trial of only 195 prisoners of war has totally unnerved Bhutto in apprehension of the exposure of his complexity in the inhuman genocide and barbarous atrocities of the Pak army in Bangladesh. Mr. Bhutto is fully conscious about his share along with Yahya Khan in the perpetration of the brutal aggression of the Pak army. He cannot forget that he was equally responsible as Yahya Khan for the unprecedented man-made calamity in Bengladesh. He knows it fully well that if this type of inhuman slaughter had taken place in any other country of the world then not a single brutal soldier would have been spared. The barbarism of Hitler paled into insignificance in comparison with the cold-blooded murder of more than 3 million men, women and children and rape on mothers and sisters on a large scale. Hundreds of 'My Lie' were enacted in Bangladesh for which Mr. Bhutto cannot shirk his responsibility.

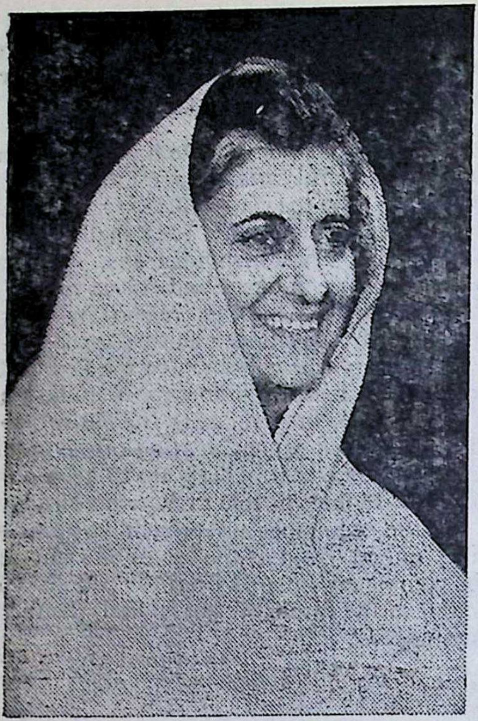
President Bhutto signed the Simla Agreement to get back the territories occupied by the Indian army and thus to boost up his presitige in Pakistan. He has joined the military alliance with Iran under the inspiration and guidance of the US imperialists and China. He has been arming the Pak army to the teeth with the colossal supply of heavy armaments from the US and China. He is acting as a tool in the global strategy of US to foment war tension in this region of the world. He is rendering his best services for the fulfilment of the imperialist design to expand their sphere of influence in the Indian ocean. He has acquired a large number of jet bombers and fighters as well as submarines with the help of US and China to unleash aggression against India and Bangladesh again.

No doubt the spirit of detente has gained new momentum in the world after the establishment of peace in Europe. The peace in Europe has hurled a severe blow to the US rulers. They shall have to withdraw their military bases from Europe. They will now set up their bases in Asia and Africa to step up the sale of their armaments in this region by stirring up war tension. Mr. Bhutto is a shuttle cock in the imperialist game of power-politics. In the face of this critical situation the democratic forces of India must play their historic role in mobilising the entire people to fight against this vicious machination of the neoimperialists and their satellites. They are to keep up the solidarity of the Indian people to face heroically the onslaught of the neoimperialists from within and outside. The united front of the forces of right reaction must be completely isolated from the people. The ultimate victory of the forces of peace and democracy is a certainty indeed.

## Food Crisis

The radical measure of taking over the entire procurement of foodgrains deserves all-out support from the enire people of the country. In a developing country like India where the population explosion at the rate of 2.5% annually is eating up the growth of production, there is no alternative than to nationalise the wholesale trade of the foodgrains and other essential commodities. India produces sufficient food to feed her people but the monopoly traders have been cornering foodgrains so long to earn more profit. The solution of the artificial food crisis entirely depends on the success of this new progressive policy of the Government. It is high time that the Government should impose compulsory levy on the farmers, otherwise the target of procurement of 8 million tonnes cannot be fulfilled. There is no justification to spend our foreign exchange for importing foodgrains from abroad when we have got sufficient quantities of foodgrains within the country. The Government machinery of procurement and distribution must be geared up with the true spirit of patriotism. Until the Government machinery is revitalised with patriotic spirit all progressive programmes of the Government will fail for want of proper implementation.

The entire democratic forces of the country should unite to make this radical food programme of the Government successful. They are to render their services as the vanguard in this great revolutionary task of solving the country's food crisis.



# A NEW JOURNEY

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI

The suffering and striving of the struggle for liberty succeeded around the middle of the century. We were not so naive as to imagine that political independence would end all difficulties. We recognized it to be but the beginning of a new journey and the assumption of heavy responsibilities that had been withheld from us. We also knew that among us there were some who continued to shirk the strain, to avoid the duty of making choices and offering battle, and who preferred the case of leaving decisions to others.

Such remnants of our colonial past do persist, counselling us in many insidious ways to seek protection or largesse. But by and large, our people have spurned, this apparently-easy path, which is in fact the path of the faint-hearted. We have chosen the more complex one of political self-assertion and economic self-reliance. And, because of the willingness of people to undergo sacrifices, we have been able to achieve a hundred years progress within two decades, More than material progress our engineers, scientists, planners and builders have acquired self-confidence.

Old religious hostilities and feelings of caste superiority have not disappeared—and many groups are bent on perpetuating them but the people as a whole regard them as inimical to national strength. Our programmes for introducing socialism have been opposed at every step by vested interests but such has been the impact of popular enthusiasm for socialism that even these interests and their advocates are compelled to pay formal allegiance to socialism. These achievements mean as much to us as the fact that the national income has risen from Rs. 86,500 million to Rs. 358,110 million in the last 20-25 years.

## ACHIEVEMENTS

There is no need to give an account of all that we have been able to do in India over this period. Briefly stated, our food production has doubled—and this has enabled us to withstand a drought of unimaginable intensity this year. Our Industrial base has become stronger and more versatile. But poverty remains and far too many people are still denied the minimum constituents of life without hunger and disease. Unemployment, specially amongst the educated, is a matter for grave concern. There is sharper awareness and growing impatience with inequalities. Now that we have some of the economic organisational means to overcome poverty and inequality, we are more keenly conscious of the urgency of quickening the pace of progress

It is customary to judge nations by income figures and rates of growth. Perhaps I am somewhat old-fashioned in this regard, continuing to attach more importance to the quality of a people than to the volume of their possessions. Therefore, in providing our people the means of satisfaction, we do not want to emulate the acquisitive and consumer societies. Affluent and powerful countries, whatever their political ideology, seem to have the same concept of what constitutes the good life. As technology advances it becomes all the more necessary that we do not become victims of our tools.

We should concern ourselves not only with material advance, but with the need to evolve a new kind of man who has the wisdom and understanding to make the best use of technology, a man who can be at peace with himself and with Nature.

The nature of relationship within a society is as valid for us as its economic activity. We fought for freedom because of the conviction that no people is entitled to rule over another. How then could we acquiesce in any one group dominating another ? So we chose democracy—not a restricted form which is no democracy, but a democracy which permits and invites all people to share the responibility for political decisions.

With each year and with each election, our people have grown in political maturity and their faith in the parliamentary system has deepened. The same faith in the equality of man has prompted us to assure equal respect and rights for all religions. For democracy to have meaning and relevance to the lives of our millions, economic opportunity had to be extended to all and our politics were therefore the politics of socialism. By this we do not mean State ownership and the control of all wealth and means of production but the widest diffusion, indeed socialisation, of economic opportunity.

In all countries the generation which fought for political independence is yielding place to a new generation which, while largely accepting the values of the founding fathers seems, to be more avid for concrete results. To us the choice of democracy evolved from our belief that means are as important as ends and that change is best which is brought about peacefully. This is in consonance with our ancient philosophy and political conditioning. Democracy may seem slow but it teaches and strengthens as it evolves. However, it is our way of life and we do not seek to export it.

The internal opposition of communalist and apologist of economic monopoly is now becoming rather desperate. Surprisingly they receive support even from those who call themselves ultra revolutionaries and who, whatever their subjective thinking might be, end by contributing to the cause of reaction. The idea that social, political and economic chaos would inevitably produce cosmos might appear attractive but it is contrary to all revoluionary experience.

We have also had obstruction from outside. Our endeavour to devote all our energies to the well-being of our people has unfortunately been interrupted from time to time. We have reluctantly had to divert resources from development to defence. It is our hope that we shall now have an era of unchequered peace and that the countries of the sub-continent will be able to build and to strengthen their economies. Such a vision of peace it was that inspired us in Simla last year. It will continue to guide our policies and we shall work for the fulfilment of the openings which the Agreement offers. In their recent declaration the Governments of Bangladesh and India have initiated yet another move to further the cause of peace on the sub-continent.

## NEW TREND

Recent events have shown new trend towards detente and the peaceful resolution of old conflicts, proving the correctness of the policy of non-alignment. We the non-aligned had regarded the bipolarity of the post-war world as unnatural and transitory. It was our belief that world peace and progress could be ensured only through co-existence and co-operation between nations. The major moves for detente in Europe and the more hesitant ones for reconciliation in Asia amount to the repudiation of the postulates of the Cold War. But there is still not enough realisation that the world of today cannot fit neatly into a pattern set by the powerful nations, and that a structure of peace is more likely to result from a genuinely co-operative approach based on the frank recognition of the limitations of power.

India should remain aloof from all manoeuvres to interfere in the affairs of others. We should continue to resist the expansion of military presences. It is of paramount importance to us that the Indian Ocean remains a zone of peace, free from military contests.

## NATIONALISM

There has been no death of theories to justify a military presence. One of the most insane of them is the theory of a power vacuum. The colonial powers were compelled to leave because of an opposite political force—the upsurge of nationalism. There can be no question of a vacuum if we make our societies stable. Our common resolve to strengthen our independence rejects the orthodox power theory. We believe that strong and stable neighbours are an asset to us.

# BHAGAT RAM TALWAR

## *The great Revolutionary Escort of Netaji*

Shri Bhagat Ram Talwar visited the offices of the Contemporary on 7th April, 1973 During an hour he stayed in the office we had an intimate and cordial talk with him. In answer to questions put up by Shri D. Das Gupta, Editor, 'The Contemporary', he narrated the incidents of his revolutionary life climaxing with his memorable part in escorting Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during his flight from Peshawar to Kabul. Materials gathered from the interesting talk are recorded below.

*From right to left Smt. Anila Das Gupta, Shri D. Das Gupta, Shri Bhagat Ram Talwar and Shri Debnath Das*

The famous Pathan 'Rehmat Khan' who escorted Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, disguised as 'Ziaud-Din' from India to Afghanistan and arranged for his escape to Russia there from during 55 days of sojourn in Kabul is the great revolutionary comrade Bhagat Ram Talwar who lived through the under-ground revolutionary movements of the militant organisations in India and made outstanding contribution in the cause of Independence of the country. His aversion to publicity and spirit of sacrifice and self-denial has kept him in comparative obscurity but those in search of truth and authenticity in writing history of the freedom movement have taken the lid off it. He grew up in the revolutionary traditions of his own family and of his people of the North West Frontier Province, now in Pakistan. He is the younger brother of the great Martyr Hari Kishan, who inspired by the wave of revolutionary upsurge, planned with his comrades and fired at the Governor of Punjab Sir Geoffrey-De-Montmorency in the Senate Hall of the Punjab University at Lahore and was later on hanged in the Mianwali jail on 9th June, 1931.

Bhagat Ram was born in November 1908 in a small village of Ghalla Dher, District Mardan of N. W. F. P. (Now in Pakistan) and got his High School education in Har Bhagwan Memorial High School at Ferozepur in Punjab. Even while in school he kept contact with the political and revolutionary movements and took active interest and played leading role in organising groups for revolutionary work. His father L. Gurdas Mal who was a great patriot and nationalist and avowed enemy of the British Raj had very great influence over the life and work of his sons. The Pathan nationalism and their anti-British traditions moulded Bhagat Ram into a tough and valiant fighter who dedicated the entire life for active work for the freedom of the country.

While in School, Bhagat Ram was very much influenced by the political developments in Afghanistan and in India at that time. Power struggle between Ammaullah, Bacha Sikka and Nadarkhan, and Bhagat Singh, Dutt Bomb case in the Central hall of the Central Assembly and the death of Lala Lajpat Rai in 1928 at Lahore had a great impact on him because of his basic political conciousness acquired through environmental influences of the father, the family and the Pathan traditions. He took very keen interest in the preparations for the Annual session of the India National Congress held in December 1928 at Calcutta and alongwith a large delegation attended the historical session in the last week of December, 1929 presided over by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru when the famous resolution for complete independence of the Country was adopted on the banks of river Ravi.

This active interest in the freedom movements kept Bhagat Ram from pursueing his studies beyond matriculation standard. He was arrested for the first time in May 1930 after return from school at Ferozepur for active role in organising parades, public meetings and demonstrations under the red-shirt (also called Khudai Khidmatgar) movement. On release from Mardan Jail after a fortnight of detention Bhagat Ram stopped up his political work in the movement. He was again arrested in June, 1930 and sentenced to 1½ years of rigorous imprisonment after a brief trial and transferred to Central Jail at Peshawar.

During his reminiseences, Bhagat Ram recalls that the political prisoners were herded together like cattle. They used to protest for which they were flogged. Once he was also in for it but because of his tender age and for fear that he may not be able to stand it, he was let off. He also recalls the night between December 23rd and 24th, 1930 when he was taken to the Superintendent of jail office and C.I.D. Officials interrogated him about his brother Hari Kishan and other relations. Since he was not aware that his brother Hari Kishan had fired at the Governor of Punjab on 23rd of December, 1930, he answered questions put to him.

Some months latter most of the political prisoners were released under Gandhi-Irwin Pact but Bhagat Ram, being younger brother of Hari Kishan was retained. During this period in Jail he met a number of revolutionary leader including those from the tribes. On request from him Bhagat Ram was taken to Mianwali in handcuffs and fetters under heavy police guard to see his brother Hari Kishan before he is hanged. By coincidence, parents and other relatives of Bhagat Ram also travelled by the same train to Mianwali to see Hari Kishan.

Bhagat Ram says that he was surprised to see that Hari Kishan had grown so much in health and had a glow on his face. He had known him as a bold and courageous young man and a Patriot with passion for the country but his confidence and strength of determination was beyond expectation. Bhagat Ram says that it was at that moment that he realised human endurance and power or forbearacce for the cause of the country. The passion and love for the people and the country can lead a man to limitless sacrifices Such love and passion became source of unlimited strength and power of endurance.

Hari Kishan was hanged in the early hours of 9th June 1931. Bhagat Ram who was also lodged in a cell in the same Jail states that an assistant Jailor and warder eame to him and let him out in the yard. They sympathised with him and told him that Hari Kishan died a hero's death. Never before he saw a young man facing such ordeal with such courage and smile on his face. He died raising slogans 'Inqlab Zindabad' and 'Bharat Mata Zindabad'. Hari Kishan had put on 13 lbs weight during his stay in Jail.

Bhagat Ram made his acquaintance with Comrade Ram Krishan B A. (National) in Jail and discussed with him various political issues during these months in Jail. These discussions on political developments, tactics and ideology helped him gain political maturity.

After expiry of his term Bhagat Ram was taken to Mardan Jail in September, 1931 and detained there under Frontier Crimes Regulation Act. He was released after furnishing security of Rs. 5,000/- and five sareties were furnished on his behalf. The police had already arrested his brothers Shri Jamna Dass Talwar and Shri Isher Dass Talwar.

In June, 1932, Bhagat Ram was again arrested under Section 17 B and detained in Mardan Jail where he remained under trial for 5 months. He was sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment and shifted to Haripur Central Jail where two of his brothers were already serving Jail terms. After release from Jail in 1933, Bhagat Ram was interned within the boundary of his village Ghalla Dhar with orders to report to Mardan Police Station at 4-00 P.M every day This Police Station was eight miles away from the village.

During this period of internship in the village Bhagat Ram organised tenants of the Nawabs and other feudal lords against evictions and against "begar" and taxes extracted from the tillers by the Nawabs and their agents. His call for collective action for a radical change in the then very pathetic condition of the peasantry met with very wide response because the tillers were looking for a lead to throw away the yoke. The movement gained momentum and spread to many villages inspite of the terror let loose by the Nawabs and the Government.

In 1937 Congress Government came to power and the peasantry hoped improvement in their lot but the big landlords had captured leadership of the congress party and started suppressing the tillers. Peaceful demonstrations and deputations were ignored. Bhagat Ram along with many others leaders of the Socialist Party who led the movement Maulana Abdul Rahim Popalzai, Comprades Ascharay Ram Ghumandi Shadhu Singh and Ram Saran Nagnia, were arrested. Peasants were herded in the Jail but they did not yield. This agitation had great impact on the national scene and started chain reaction and high-lighted the urgent need for reforms in land system in the country.

In May, 1940 Bhagat Ram got married on account of social circumstances prevailing in the family although as stated by him the nature of political work ahead did not allow for such a step.

A large number of men of defence forces who were anti-British and wanted to work for the freedom of the country deserted in year 1939, 1940 and 1941. Bhagat Ram Kishan B A. (National) and the great revolutionary comrade Dhanwantri selected some personnel in the tribal area and organised them into a regular army with the help of comrade Sanobar Hussain and some other tribal chiefs to utilise their services in the event of a—war between the tribes and the British and for sabotage work in India. Later on these men were distributed in small groups and deployed in different parts of India for underground work of the party.

Bhagat Ram has played a key role in the scape of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from India. He was Netaji's sole escort and guide from India to Afghanistan and helped in making arrangements for further escape to Soviet Union and onward to Europe.

Almost two weeks after his marriage in May, 1940 Bhagat Ram was informed in his villages by comrade Ram Kishan B. A. (National) and Achhar Singh Chhina—that he had to arrang for crossing over to Soviet Union of a very important person of international repute and that arrangements should be very sure because any lapse will bring bad name to their party (The Kirty Party). He was told that it was a very important mission and the VIP concerned was none other than Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose himself.

This was indeed a very important and delicate mission. The only possible route was through the tribes which was infested with the British CID and a number of revolutionaries had been apprehended while crossing over. This was a very sensitive area and therefore very sound and sure arrangements were necessary. With similar missions in mind, Bhagat Ram had earlier surveyed the various possible safe routes including the route *via* Chatral and Mastaj. It was Mastaj when he heard of the break out of Second World War.

As arranged, Netaji arrived at Peshawar by Frontier Mail on 19th of January, 1941. Bhagat Ram met him for the first time in the evening of 21st January, 1941 in a residential house inside Bajauri Gate where he was lodged, and explained to him the arrangements made for his escape. Bhagat Ram says that Netaji told him once during their sojourn in Kabul that he was a little disappointed in the first meeting with him on account of his medium stature He had heard stories of his work and experience in revolutionary movements, his own and family sacrifices, being a brother of the great martyr Hari Kishan, he had built up an image of a robust Pathan, tall and broad in built in his mind.

It was in the morning of -2nd of January, 1941, that Netaji and Bhagat Ram left Peshawar for their historic journey through the shinwari Tribes and to Kabul for further escape to the Soviet Union. Netaji as "Zaud-Din", a Pathan dressed in Malasia cloth salwar, kamiz, Pathan leather Jacket, Khanki Kulla and Lungi as head gear and Peshawari Chappal. He was carrying a Kabli Blanket. By this time he had already grown about an inch long beard. Bhagat Ram as "Rahmat Khan" was also in Pathàn dress.

They travelled through the tribes by foot along the tracks through the hills and creeks, spent nights in the "Masjid", place of worship or in village common sitting place or with mule men and reached Gardi on Peshawar-Dabul Road in the morning of 24th January, 1941. By now they had crossed over the tribal area and were 14 miles inside the Afghan territory.

From here onwards, journey by Bus was possible but risky. They could come across aquanitances in the Bus. Besides Netaji could be reecognised, they preferred to travel by trucks in stages and reached Jalalabad in the evening where they stayed night in a hotel. The next day, after prayers at the renowned muslim shrine Adda sharif and visiting a Revolutionary leader and chief of the shrine Haji Mohammad Amin, they came back to Jalalabad and spent the second night there.

On 26th morning they resumed their journey to Kabul by Tanga, by foot and by trucks dodging check posts and barriers on the way. The winter was severe and riding open trucks in the nights is an ordeal. It is a tribute to Netaji that he faced it cheerfully. On 27th of January, 1941, Netaji and Bhagat Ram reached Kabul city the last stop-over, to make contacts for further journey to the Soviet Union.

They took up abode in a Sarai inside Laborie Gate frequented by Camel owners because in better hotels and lodging places, they would be exposed to tourists and those who may recognize Net..ji.

Netaji and Bhagat Ram first tried to establish contact with Soviet Embassy and spent a number of days in an effort to get their message across to the embassy. They talked to Russian personnel of the embassy when they came out for shopping but there was no response. They considered it very risky to barge into the Embassy for direct contacts. After disappointment in their efforts to establish contacts, they considered crossing over the border on river Amu and even purchased bus tickets for journey upto Khanabad and then to cross over to Soviet Union.

Germany and Italy were allies of Soviet Union in those days. They contacted German Embassy who kept them waiting for a number of days when eventually Italian Legation arranged for Netaji's escape through Soviet Union crossing the border at Tarmiz by road. Bhagat Ram saw him off in the morning of 18.3.1941. He travelled with Italian Passport as "Arlendo Mazotta" through Soviet Union on Russian Visa.

The 55 days sojourn in Kabul dodging the British CID and Afghan Secret Police Service and escaping recognition was a trying and extremly difficult experience for Netaji and Bhagat Ram. During this period Netaji fell ill because of the poor living condition and the food he was not accostomed to. The Afghan Saccret Police also chased them and once they had to part with Netaji's watch, a present to him by his father, to bribe away a spy.

Bhagat Ram has a long record of underground revolutionary work in the cause of the country. It was his valuable experience in this line, his spirit of sacrifice and passion for freedom of the country imbibed through family traditions that he readily agreed to undertake the onerous and extremely difficult task of escorting Netaji.

From Kabul. Bharat Ram return to India through the tribal area making new contacts and renewing old ones to create a strong base for anti-British work. He brought back with him papers and messages from Netaji which were delivered by him personally to Shri Sisir Bose at Calcutta on 28th March, 1941. Bhagat Ram narrated details of the journey and how ultimately Netaji took off for Soviet Union from Kabul to Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and Shri Sisir Bose who were naturally, very keenly awaiting the news about Netaji,

Bhagat Ram made further trips to the tribal area and to Kabul also for any message from Netaji. On his third trip to Kabul reaching there on 7th of July, 1941, he was congrulated by the Minister of the Italian Legation and informed him that a message had been received from Netaji who had reached Berlin safely.

Shri Bhagat Ram continued underground revolutionary work of the party till the country gained independence. He is now settled in Pilibhit (Uttar Pradesh). He is still very active and takes keen interest in the day to day developments in the country and on the international scene. When asked why his services and sacrifices of his family have not been awarded and recognised by the Government of free India which came into being an account of sacrifices of such people, he said that they worked in the revolutionary struggle because of an inner urge in them. It was the spontaneous upsurge, the general revolutionary trend and the keen desire to throw away the foreign ruler which egged them on. The question of reward or recognition never even occurred to him. Some revolutionaries who devoted all their lives for the cause of freedom and died for it have remained unheard of. He cited the case of Comrade Ram Kishan B. A. (National) a gem. amongst revolutionaries, an embodiment of service and sacrifice, a master in ideological and revolutionary strategy who was drowned while crossing river Amu, in connection with reconniasoance for the escape of Netaji and thereby laid down his life for the country and hence Freedom has come to us at a very great cost.

## Azad Hind in the Making (34)

# Bangkok Serving as Netaji's Head Quarters, I.N.A. takes up New Position

**DEBNATH DAS**

*Formerly General Secretary, Indian Independence League Head Quarters, East-Asia and Member, Council of Minister, Azad Hind Government.*

So the Battle of Burma seemed to be lost by the end of April 1945. In spite of enemy's advance on all sides towards Rangoon with all weapons of modern war fare I. N. A. batallions were determined to give fight from all available strategic points. Our soldiers were at their best at the time of peril. The tragedy that the India's Army of Liberation faced was that the opposing army was mainly comprised of Indians. On many occasions Indian personnel in the British Indian Army came to our side with the intention of fighting shoulder to shoulder with their comrades in the Indian National Army. But an overwhelming number of them could not muster sufficient spirit and determination to sacrifice their career and comforts and to join I. N. A. They came in tens of thousands fully equipped with all modern weapons under cover of hundreds of planes. The I. N. A. fought with courage and valour and overcame all obstacles and hardships till final order for general evacuation was ordered.

The seat of Azad Hind Government had to be moved from Rangoon. A battle was lost but the war had to be won was the propelling force in the minds of all. Netaji made all arrangements for the safety and security of citizens of Rangoon, irrespective of nationality, so that peace and order was maintained by detachments of the Indian National Army till the invading forces took over charge. During these most trying days when enemy forces were almost knocking at the gates of Rangoon, Netaji kept up a cheerful countenance and supervised the execution of his orders by those who were to remain behind in Rangoon and other sectors in Burma. Major General Loganathan was appointed Deputy of Netaji in charge of Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army, in Rangoon, with Col. Thimaya, second-in-commad.

Netaji then took up the task of proper evacuation of different units from Burma to Thailand—looking to every detail. Netaji could have flown from Rangoon to Bangkok but he was determined to take the land route even though the whole route was pregnant with dangers—infested with armed dacoits, enemy paratroo-

pers and insurgents. Morever, enemy planes were, day and night, patrolling the area. Bridges enroute were already smashed up. But Netaji was determined to share the dangers, trials and privation with those who were ordered to evacuate. The party included personnel of Indian National Army League and members of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. All available transport were reserved for the members of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, as per order of Netaji. Netaji chose to march on foot. Amongst officers, General Chatterjee, General Bhonsle, General Kiani, Col. Gulzara Singh, Col. Pritam Singh, Col. Mallik, Col. Chopra. Major Swami, Shri S.A. Ayer, Shri J. A. Thivy, Col. Raturi, Col. Rawat, Major Abid Hassan, Shri Bhaskaran, Shri U. C. Sharma, Shri C. Rai Narulla accompanied Netaji. Hav. Kundan Singh that devoted orderly to Netaji was also in the party.

Before Netaji left Rangoon he instructed Shri J. N. Bhaduri, General Manager of the National Bank of Azad Hind to donate 5 (Five) millions of rupees to the then Government of Burma so that it could pay the salaries of government staff and meet other vital expenditures, since the government of Burma had no money. Netaji ordered that deposits either in cash or in ornaments made by citizens of Burma to our Bank must be returned to the depositors under all circumstances. Mr. Bhaduri kept the honour of India by returning all deposits to respective donors even faced with immense difficulties caused by the arrogant behaviour of enemy troops controlling Rangoon and the whole of Burma. All these deposits were returned to respective donors by I. N. A. messengers and couriers.

On the eve of his departure from on the 24th April, 1945, Netaji issued the following special order of the Day to the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fouz:

Brave officers and men of the Azad Hind Fouz! It is with a heavy heart that I am leaving Burma--the scene of many heroic battles that you have fought since February, 1944, and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma, we have suffered a reverse in the first round in our fight for independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight for independence. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit any defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battles against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan, and the oil-field area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for independence for all time. Comrades: At this critical hour, I have only one word of command to give you, and that is, that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down fighting with the National Tri Colour held aloft; go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generation of Indians, who will be born, not as slaves but as freemen because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forebearers, fought and suffered reverses in the battle in Manipur, Assam, and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's Liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our national tricolour and the best traditions of Indian warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's Army of Liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's National Honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my minister and high ranking officers I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they will continue the fiight under all circumstances and that all your sufferings and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st of October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of thirty eight crores of countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe, like myself, that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free and before long. May God bless you! Inquilab Zindabad, Azad Hind Zindabad, Jai Hind.

In the wake of Netaji's 'Total Mobilisation Call', Indians in Burma, men and women, young and old, boys and girls, gave their all and passed through baptism of fire during the Liberation Battle. They passed through all tests of endurance and sufferings during the period for India's cause. The people of Burma accorded all cooperation and sympathy to the Azad Hind Government and our Armed Forces They showed great respect and love to Netaji.

Netaji gave the following message to his Indian and Burmese friends in Burma on the same day (24th April, 1945): Brothers and sisters! 'I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for losing heart.

You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your motherland in a way that evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally your men, money and materials. You set the first example of total mobilisation. But the odds against us were overwhelming, and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

The spirit of selfless sacrifice that you have shown, particularly since I shifted my headquarters to

Burma, is something that I shall never forget, so long as I live.

I have the fullest confidence that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit, I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that Blessed Day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the war for India's independence.

When the history of India's last war of independence comes to be written, Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in that history.

I do not leave Burma of my own free will. I would have preferred to stay on here and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the pressing advice of my ministers and high ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for India's Liberation. Being a born optimist my unshakable faith in India's early emancipations remains unimpaired and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour : therefore the dawn is not far off.

I cannot conclude the message without publicly acknowleding once again my heartfelt gratitude to the government and people of Burma for all the help that I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when Free India will repay that debt of gratitude in a generous manner.

So Netaji left Rangoon on the 24th April, 1945 along with some officers and some units of armed forces and of Indian Independence League. It took three weeks for him and the party to reach Bangkok. During this historic march every one who accompanied him was overwhelmed with joy and pride to find how Netaji had attended to every detail himself and how he took care of every individual with love and affection. The journey was full of peril not only because of the diverse topography of the area but also due to constant threat of enemy air-raids. But all the members of the the party stood all the stress and strain smilingly. Now on foot, now on truck—that too undependable, the party had to cover the whole distance of 300 to 350 miles. Crossing of rivers posed great problems and uncertainties. Food and water were not easily available. Netaji, calm and collected led the historic retreat to continue the struggle. Shri S. A. Ayer who accompained Netaji has rightly expressed the feeling of every one of us with the following words in his book 'UNTO HIM A WITNESS': "I saw Netaji in his unique greatness, combining the highest qualities of soldier, statesman, leader, man and greatest of all, humanitarian in those unforgettable three weeks of peril in the jungles on the Burma-Thai border".

Netaji and the party reached Bangkok on the13th May, 1945. He did not lose a single moment in reorganising the machinery of the Azad Hind government. Netaji's headquarters were established at Bangkok. The Headquarters of the Indian Independence Leauge and of the Supreme command, Indian National Army were stationed at Bangkok. Major General J. K. Bhonsle, Chief of Staff and Major General Zaman Kiani, Army Commander took the task of reorganising the armed forces. Col. Thakur Singh, commander of X-Regiment took position along the Thailand—Burma border. Every one of us was determined to continue the struggle. Determination and sprit of sacrifice was writ large on the face of every man and woman to face the enemy till last breath. Netaji had his hand on the pulse of the people. The Man of India's destiny stood erect before us as a pillar of India's humanity. Netaji addressed a mamoth meeting in Bangkok on 17th May, 1945, where every one pledged once more to continue the struggle. The following is the official English translation of that historic speech. Readers will find how prophetic it was *vis-a-vis* India and the world at large.

"Sisters and Brothers, after I spoke to you in January last, the war situation has undergone considerable change. In Europe, German resistance has collapsed completely. Here, in Burma, we have lost the first round in our fight for freedom Nevertheless there is no reason why we should lose heart. If our enemies did not lose heart when they were expelled from Europe and East Asia, if our enemies, despite such staggering defeats, could continue the war and even launch a counter-offensive, we should exhibit at least as much strength and tenacity as our enemies have. You know that I have always said that we shall deserve to be free, only if we are more courageous, more tenacious, and more far-sighted than our enemies. If our enemies, after being expelled from Burma, could stage a comeback, there is no reason why we should not return to Burma again. The main point is whether our morale has broken down and whether we consider ourselves to be beaten. The Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in the last European war, Marshel Foch, once made a historic remark—"That army is beaten which considers itself to be beaten". Among those who have come with me from Burma, there is not one man or woman who considers himself or herself to be beaten. No doubt we have lost one round in India's war of liberation. But many more rounds are to follow, and the last round will decide the final result of this war. War is in many ways like a match between two wrestlers. When the wrestlers are more or less equal in strength, victory will go to him who can hold out longer. If we have greater tenacity and staying power, if we have more spiritual strength than our enemies, then only shall we deserve to win freedom. Unfortunately there are among us a few men who get easily upset and even panicky over slight set backs. This is the psychological effect of slavery. The Indian people will have to overcome this weakness and to carry on the fight under all circumstances if they are to win in the long run.

There is another thing I should like to tell you in this connection. In a modern war and especially in a war of the present magnitude many things may happen which are least expected or anticipated. A famous military strategist and one of the founder of the scince of modern warfare, the German General and writer, Clausewitz, once said. "War has many surprises". I shall give you a few instances to illustrate the truth of this remark In the Balkan war of 1911, the four powers Roumenia, Bulgaria, Greece and Servia—made a combined attack on Turkey. Turkey was defeated in one battle after another, until the Balkan powers almost reached the gates of Constantinople (Istanbul). Everything seemed to be lost for the Turks, and there was not even a glimmer of hope. All of a sudden, disagreement and discord broke out among the four Balkan powers which quickly developed into a war among themselves. Constantinople was saved. The Turkish forces launched a counter offensive and they managed to recover most of the lost territories. We see, therefore, that if Turkey had surrendered when all hopes seemed to have gone, she would not have been able to turn the tide of the war as she actually did.

Take another example from the recent history of Turkey. In the last world war, Turkey fought alongside of Germany and Austria-Hungary. But she was ultimately beaten.

Constantinople, the proud capital of the Ottoman Empire, was occupied by the Allied Forces and the Sultan, who was also a Caliph, was virtually made a prisoner. Seeing that the war was completely lost, the Sultan submitted to the humiliating treatment imposed by the Allied Forces and asked the Turks to cease all resistance. In that dark hour, there was, however one man who would not accept defeat, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who was then only one of the many Turkish officers, left Constantinople and crossed over to Anatolia. He got together a handful of able officers and with their help organised a new army from among the Anatolian Turks. That army proved to be invincible and the Turks, by their valour, tenacity and indomitable faith, recovered the freedom and victory that they had lost when they had such powerful allies as Germany, and Austria-Hungary. It is one of the miracles of history that Turkey was badly beaten when she was fighting side by side with powerful allies and that when put up a fight alone after her defeat, she came out victorious in the long run. The secret of this miracle was that Kemal Pasha and his fellow fighters did not accept defeat at a time when all the other Turks headed by the Sultan himself did so.

I shall now give you another instance from another part of the world, namely Ireland. During the last world war, when Ireland's enemy, Britain, was engaged in a life and death struggle the Irish Revolutionaries made a bid for freedom. True to their motto that "Britain's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," they rose in revolt during the Easter week of 1916. The Easter Revolution was, however, crushed inside of a week. At that time there were Irish people, who called their own revolutionaries 'Mad Men'. But though the Easter Rebellion was crushed so easily, the forces of revolution continued to work among the Irish people, and ultimately broke out in a more powerful revolution in 1919 that is, one year after the end of the war. It is a strange phenomenon in history that while the British could easily crush the Irish Rebellion in 1916 at a time when they were engaged in a life and death struggle, they had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the same Irish Revolutionaries after they (the Brtish) emerged victorious from the world war. If the Irish Revolutionaries had accepted defeat in 1916, the Revolution of 1919 would not have taken plac and Ireland would not have been what she is today.

A similar phenomenon took place in India also. During the world war, the Indian revolutionaries tried to organise a rebellion in order to overthrow British power in India. That attempt was easily crushed. But the spirit of the Indian people did not acknowledge defeat. After Britain's victory in the last war, and after the Jallianwalla Bagh messacre in 1919, a political awakening of the Indian people under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi took place in such a grand scale that the British have not been able to suppress it upto now.

The lesson to be derived from all these events is, that a nation which loses its morale and its faith in ultimate victory can never hope to be victorious. On the otherhand, if inspite of temporary setbacks and defeats, we continue the struggle with undiminished faith in our final success, then no power on earth can deprive us of our well deserved victory since we are fighting for justice and truth and for the birth right of liberty. And since we are prepared to pay the full price of that liberty, freedom is bound to come, if only we fight on.

There is no need to hide the fact that we have lost the first round in our war of liberation. But that does not mean that the fighting in Burma has come to an end. On the contrary, the Azad Hind Fouz and Japanese Army are still fighting on various fronts in Burma and they will continue fighting so long as it is humanly possible to do so. Those of us who have left Burma have not withdrawn from the fight. We have come with the sole intention of continuing the struggle on other fronts. We are moving from one battle field to another. We have but one goal before us—and only one method of armed struggle. Therefore the reverses that we have suffered recently in Burma do not affect our future programme in any way. "CHALO DELHI" continues to be the slogan and the war-cry of the Azad Hind Fouz. It may be that we shall not go to Delhi *via* Imphal. But the roads to Delhi are many, like the roads to Rome. And along one of these many roads we shall travel and ultimately reach our distination, the Metropolis of India.

In all our recent experiences, there is one thing which is to us tragic and humiliating. Whatever reverses we have suffered during a campaign of about fifteen months, have been due not so much to the British forces, as to the British Indian army. In the Spring of 1944 it was the British Indian army that barred our way to Imphal, Calcutta and Delhi. This year, it has been the British Indian Army, more than any body, that has been responsible for the re-entry into Burma of the British. In the last century, it was with the help of India that the British conquered Burma. Now it is again with the help of India that the British have re-entered Burma. There is, however, one silver lining in the cloud that has overtaken us and that is that the British Indian Army of today is not the British Indian army of the last war. Soldiers of the Azad Hind Fouz have had numerous opportunities of coming into close contact with members of the British Indian Army. Very often our soldiers were told by the latter that if they (*i.e.* Azad Hind Fouz) succeed in advancing further, members of the British Indian Army would then come and join them. There is no doubt that at heart large sections of the British Indian army sympathise with the Azad Hind Fouz and its fight for freedom. But the British Indian Army is not yet prepared to take the risk and line up with the revolutionaries. As a result of foreign rule, members of the British Indian Army have lost their self-confidence and they are afraid that the British might ultimately win, in which case they would be in a difficult situation. Moreover, they have been influenced to some extent by the propaganda of our enemies that the Azad Hind Fouz (Indian National Army) is a puppet army of the Japanese. After coming into Burma, the eyes of the British Indian Army will be opened. They will see for themselves what the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Azad Hind Fouz have done and how they have fought for India's freedom. They will hear "JAI HIND" which is the greeting of all free Indians. They will also hear India's inspiring national anthem sung by freedom loving Indians in Burma. The effect of this experience on the British Indian Army, and on all other Indians who have come into Burma alongside of the British, is bound to be great in the days to come.

Friends, I shall refer once again to the war in Europe. There was a time when the German Armies had advanced inside Russia right upto Stalingrad. I wonder if there were any who in those days, could imagine that the tide would turn and that one day the Soviet Army would be in Berlin. Germany's defeat is one of the surprises of this war. Clausewitz was perfectly right when he said that "war has many surprises". But there are more surprises to come and some of these surprises would not be welcome to our enemies. You know very well that I have been always of the opinion that if Germany collapsed, it would be a signal for the outbreak of an acute conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans. The conflict has already broken out and it will be intensified in the days to come. The time is not far off when our enemies will realise that though they have succeeded in overthrowing Germany, they have indirectly helped to bring into the arena of European politics another power—Soviet Russia, that may prove to be a great menace to British and American imperialism than Germany was. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind, will continue to follow international developments with the closest interest and endeavour to take the fullest advantage of them. The fundamental principle of our foreign policy has been and will be Britain's enemy is India's friend.

It is clear by now that the war aims of the Soviet Union are quite different from those of the Anglo-Americans, although they had a common enemy in Germany. This has been further confirmed at the San Francisco Conference when the Soviet Foreign Commissar Mon. Molotoff refused to submit to the Anglo-Ameriean demands. In fact Mon. Molotoff went so far as to challenge the credentials of the puppets of Britain and America who came to represent India and the Phillipines respectively. The differences that became visible at the San Francisco Conference are only a precursor of a much wider and deeper conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans which the future has in store for the world.

While the conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans is going on, we should not fail to understand the real position and strength of our principal enemy, Britain. So long Britain was fighting without aid of America, whether in Europe or in East Asia, she was beaten in every battle. Britain's recent successes have been due first and foremost to American leadership and American assistance. I have said so again and again in the past, that the days of the Bristish Empire are drawing to close. The British Empire is a decadent and decaying empire, and it is endeavouring now to prolong its life with the help of the United States of America. But though the life of an old man may be prolonged with the help of skilful doctors and efficacious medicines and injections, it can never be restored to youthful vitality. The British empire is endeavouring to march on with the help of Amercian crutches, but the American crutches cannot help Britain very long. All that we have to do is to deliver a knockout blow to British imperialism in India, which is the basis of Britain's world imperialism.

Our programme in East Asia remains unaltered. I demand from my countrymen in East Asia "Total Mobilisation". We want more men, more money and more materials to replenish the losses we have recently suffered. Above all, we want an indomitable will and unshakable determination. Let me remind you that it took the British full 100 years—from 1757 to 1857—to finally subjugate India. Therefore, if we are to fight on for a few years more, in order to recover our liberty, no body should grudge it. It is no doubt

(*Contd. on page 33*)

# IN THE LION'S DEN

## *Freedom Fighter*

**Despair not young exiles. Elevate your piligrimage to the height of a religious mission, you must succeed. You may die, but your deed will never die.** —**Mazzini**

The Bengal Volunteers force organised by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during the Congress session at Calcutta in 1928 was an important and significant contribution to the freedom struggle. It showed a new and bright path germinating with great possiblities. Hemchandra Ghosh of Mukti Sangha and other pioneer workers of the Bengal Volunteer Movement Major Satya Gupta, Jagadish Chatterjee, Jatin Das and others did not keep the organisation in the role of movement only but converted it into a revolutionary organisation with their untiring zeal and devotion. So Mukti Sangha and Bengal Volunteer Movement became one and the same. The Police nicknamed Hemchandra Ghosh's organisation 'Bengal Volunteer' or in short BV. This BV under its commander Hemchandra Ghosh played unforgettable role in the freedom struggle—many were the exploits and many were the sacrifices of the members. Some of the members of BV were immortal martyrs whose names are written with golden letters in the history of India's Independence struggle. Benoy, Badal, Dinesh were also members of this group.

**Binoy Basu**

History was being created by Surya Sen in Chittagong. All the revolutionary parties were alerted to strike the British imperialist power from all sides. Dinesh Mazumder and Amiya Sen courted death on the spot in their attempt to kill Charles Tegart. Oppression and suppression of the colonialist British Govt. assumed monstrous proportion. At this time an order came from the supreme commander Hemchandra Ghosh to strike against the choicest officers of the British steel frame. His instructions were quite clear—Do or Die ! Nobody should return without fulfilling the mission entrusted to him.

Youngmen of BV took their oath in letters of Blood. The first target was F.J. Lowman, the Inspector General of Police – the same Lowman of whom Debprasad Gupta of Kalarpole fight lamentingly said that he would have certainly shot down Lowman if his right hand was not injured.

**Dinesh Gupta**

The opportunity came on Aug. 29, 1930—four days after the Dalhousie Square incident. Police Superintendent Mr. Bart became suddenly ill and had come to the hospital for treatment. Police Superintendent Hodson and Lowman came to the hospital to see him. Armed guards, plain dress police and spies were all around. But nobody could prevent the inevitable. When these dignitaries were coming out of the hospital, revolver fire roared—drum, drum, drum. The two men immediately fell down. Lowman instantly died and Hodson was seriously injured. Everybody was dumfounded. In the meantime the assasin leapt up on the high walls of the hospital and from there jumped on to the water tanks of a nearby house and then disappeared. But the striker could not be found although it became known that he was no other than Benoy Bose, son of Rebati Bhushan Bose of Rautbhog and a student of fourth-year class of Mitford Medical College. A reward of ten thousand rupees was announced, pictures of Benoy Bose were hung up in all parts of Bengal. But he could not be traced.

Benoy Bose's journey from Dacca to Calcutta was an adventure in itself and is a separate story. Their next action was more important—the fight in the Writers Building accompanied by his colleagues Badal and Dinesh.

Benoy was first brought to Waliulla lane—the residence of Suresh Mazumdar; but for security reasons he was transferred from there to Katrasgar Colliery at the quarters of Anathbondhu Das. But Benoy became restless and therefore returned to Calcutta and took shelter at the house of Rajen Guha in Metiaburuj. Benoy was too glad to come to the house, not only for the affectionate care of Rajenda or the small loving kiddies but for Saraju Baudi (wife of Rajenda)—she was just like a mother for her selfless and all-absorbing affection and care.

A conference was held to decide the future of Benoy and all the members of the committee—Subhash Ch. Bose, Sarat Ch. Bose, Acharya Prafulla Ch. Roy and Lady Abala Bose gave the opinion that he should leave India and settle for the time being in some foreign land. All arrangements were accordingly made by Shri Haridas Dutta for despatching him to Italy. But Benoy at the last moment refused to go and decided to join the next adventure by the BV boys. It was a daring plan. Such terrible ideas were beyond the imagination of everyone. The plan was to storm the Writers Building—the strongest fort of the colonialist British Govt. Their rocketing pride should be brought down to the dust.

Plans were all ready. Shri Prafulla Dutta who was not only a member of the action squad but an engineer, brought a detalied plan of the Writers Building. The target date had also been fixed. The first object of attack was Col. Simpson, Director General of Prisons. Subhash had previously shed blood in the Alipore Jail on account of a severe beating. Col. Simpson must repay the debt of that sacred blood. Benoy was always a man of few words. On hearing the plan, he only uttered four words—"I must also go". Haridas Dutta—dearly loved mejda of the group, Satya Bakshi, Major Satya Gupta, Bhupendra Kishore Rakshit Roy, Prafulla Dutta, Manindro Roy and Rashimoy Sur were the members of the executive committee of the BV. Everybody unanimously expressed their agreement on Benoy joining the proposed action. It was decided that Benoy was to be the leader of the group and Dinesh Gupta and Badal Gupta would be his colleagues.

Dinesh Gupta was the courageous daring soldier of BV with overflowing health and vitality, with invincible courage in his heart and with a crystal clear gaze like the farthest horizon. He was equally an artist, a poet, a philosopher. He loved Rabindra Nath like a lunatic and would forget everything around him when engaged in his study of Rabindra Literature. But above all was his organising capability. In later years Midnapore created a new chapter in the Revolutionary history of India. It was Dinesh who founded the BV branch at Midnapur and youths of Midnapur awoke as if after a long sleep by a magic touch and bursting with energy and enthusiasm eagerly awaited instructions for operations.

The BV had another secret centre—in the two storeyed building at New Park Street. In the ground floor were the chambers of Dr. Animesh Roy and Dr. Himangshu Banerjee. On the top floor were prominent revolutionaries hiding from the police. Nikunja Sen and Supati Roy were among them. Dinesh and Badal were also there. The costly European dresses were already made to order. Dressed like highranking European officers they would enter the Writers Building to deceive the guards at the gate. In the meantime Nikunja Babu took Badal to the Writers Buildings to make him acquainted with the details of the offices—it was on December 7, a day before the actual operation. In the evening Dinesh was busy in reading Tagore's 'Balaka' with deep meditative attention. But it was a different Dinesh. He was then a transformed entity—calm and quiet almost saintly. Nikunja Babu hesitated for a moment to break the calmness and sacredness of the surroundings. At that moment Badal and Dinesh—his most beloved disciples—were before his eyes. But God only knew what fate awaited them next day—His blessings or curses.

At last he awoke Dinesh from his self-forgetting meditation. "Dinesh, you are very fond of eating. What items do you want to have tomorrow before starting for the destined place ?" Dinesh suddenly stood up as if he landed to the earth at that moment from some heavenly abode—"What ! Are you proposing to give us a feast ? All right we shall fix up the menu. But there is one condition You shall have to supply us items until we say no. What do you say Badal ?" Badal laughed within himself—Dinesh did not know—Badal was equally a good eater.

From early in the morning on December 8, 1930, every body was busy in the secret center of New Park street. The appointed day—the memorable day, had arrived. First thing to note was the feast arranged for Badal and Dinesh. Both were equally good eaters. "Do you want more meat Dinesh ?" asked Nikunja Babu. "What do you mean sir ? This is only the beginning", answered Dinesh. "What do you say Badal ?" "Oh, Sir, you go on giving as much as you can." Thus they went on merrily with their festive meals,—Nikunja babu suppressed a deep sigh. That day they were dedicated to the altar of Independence. Nobody would return. Nobody would see the face of the world any more. Perhaps this was their last feast. But the two men were least concerned with the future—their fate. Death appeared to them a plaything—nothing to be worried about. But what was actually their age ? Benoy was 22, Dinesh 20 and Badal was only a boy of 18. The feast was over, not a morsel of food was left. They dressed themselves in the European dress. Nikunja babu went out to call for a taxi and soon returned with one. There was no time to wait so he went towards Dinesh's room. But he stopped as he heard Dinesh reciting from his favourite poet Rabindranath forgetful of the coming fateful events. Nikunja Babu heard Dinesh reciting from Tagore's poem "EBAR PHIRAO MORE" (Now Take Me Back).

Whoever heard that invitorial melody
has rushed
fearless into the abyss of danger,
sacrificed the whole world,
The horrible roar of death appeared to him a
charming calliope.

Dinesh's charming recitation filled the air on so many occasions, on so many evenings. Everything would end that day. This was the culmination of all things. However unwilling you might be, you would have to bid adieu—bid adieu for ever from this earth. Was this recitation by Dinesh accidental or was it the last cry of the child to the mother earth to take him back on her lap ? With a heavy heart Nikunja Babu called 'Dinesh'. With that call Dinesh appeared to come back to the earth and said merrily. "Get up Badal, get up, quick. Our journey now begins". There was another pitiful scene on that day at the residence of Rajen Guha. Saraju Baudi had no time even to breathe. She was busy, since early morning preparing meals which Benoy relished most—items which were his favourites. It was seven O' clock on that fateful day. But Benoy was soundly sleeping—sound sleep of a comfortable, weariless life. So many times Saraju had come in the room but went back hesitating to rouse him. But it was going to be late; by nine-fifteen he would have to start for his journey. With affection flowing from every word she softly called 'Brother'.

When Benoy came back after washing himself he, was surprised to see plateful of sweets arranged on a table. Benoy could not refuse earnest request of his dear Baudi and had to finish everything inspite of his protests. At nine O' clock he had to sit again for his meals—it was a princely affair. Varieties of fish, meat, vegetable preparations, curds, sweets, etc. Even ten men would not be able to take all that. Benoy jocosely said : "what have you done *Baudi* ? Is it possible to take all these for a single man ? Further if I get heavy with all these foods, how shall I fight ? All right let me take whatever I can".

Rasamoy Sur had arrived. There was no time to loose. Badal and Dinesh would wait for Benoy at the Pipe Road junction. Saraju was controlling herself with great effort, but when time came for Benoy's putting on the dress, she broke down with tears. But Benoy said unmoved "Sister, you know that mothers of this land dressed their sons in the battle-dress with their own hands and sent them to the battle-field with smiles. Are you not a mother of the same land ?"

**Badal Gupta**

It was perfectly true. Saraju made herself firm. How many mothers had such a heroic son who was going to sacrifice himself at the altar of freedom ? What a magnificent son—what a noble son of India. So she dressed Benoy with the European dress—the battle dress indeed, with care, and much affection. She looked on till the taxi carrying Benoy disappeared from hersight.

Oh the travellers proceed on your pilgrimage
Gray dusts of the rough roads will be your nurse.
You are not for homes where a beloved wife
Blows the blissful conch-shell or lights the evening
lamp.
Howling west wind and the thundering rainy nights
Are your willing hosts.
Pricking thorns and the hissing cobras
Lie hidden along your journey's route.

Then the battle began—the famous corridor battle in the Writers' buildings. "Pray to God, Col , your last hour has come" thundered Benoy Basu standing in front of Col Simpson's room. Six bullets went out instantly from their revolvers Col Simpson rolled down without uttering a word. Then they proceeded to the room of the Home Secretary, Albram Marr. All the officers—

Mr. Craig, the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Ford, Jones and other European officers came out of their rooms. But they could not do anything. The three heroes were desperately firing from their revolvers all around.

They only knew one policy—blood for blood, bullet for bullet. The Europeans—cowards as they were—took covers—some behind the almirahs, some underneath the tables. It was a sight to see the terrified and confused European officers running helter-skelter in fear of their lives. When news spread, the Police Commissioner Sir Charles Tegart and Deputy Commissioner Mr. Gordon came on the spot with their police force. But how can the mercenary forces face the heroes fighting for the liberation of their country? They had also to fall back. Then the three ransacked the passport office. Bullets were coming out incessantly from their revolvers. Mr. Nelson, the judicial Secretary, Mr. Toynam and others tumbled down being wounded. But Benoy, Badal and Dinesh were still unhurt.

When no alternative was left—the army was called—a detachment of Gurkha soldiers Then began that immemorable corridor battle—yes it was a regular battle. On one side the Gurkha soldiers had taken stand in kneeling down position, on the otherside the three courageous fighters had taken lying down position. It was an unequal battle—three young men against powerful rifles. Yet the enemy were no match. Louder than the thunderous sounds of flying bullets, cries of 'Vande Mataram' echoed and re-echoed through the corridors. But the heroes at the end faced that eternal problem—no ammunition. Only one bullet was left in the revolver of Dinesh and Benoy. What to do? The three desperate youngmen went inside an office room and bolted the door from inside. That was the moment of their bidding farewell from the earthly abode. For the last time they roared—'Vande Mataram'. The entire Dalhousie Square area reverberated with the cry. There was no time to loose. Dinesh and Benoy put their revolver at their temple and released the trigger. For the last time the revolvers roared. Badal cut the ampule with his teeth and swallowed the poison within and died on the spot.

Dinesh and Benoy were lying side by side in the hospital They were unconscious. Surprisingly Benoy's fingers were bandaged. But his hands were not injured in the fight. Who was then responsible? It was Charles Tegart himself. The cowardly man could not dare to face active Benoy. but kicked with his nailed boots on the unconscious Benoy to give vent to his injured sense of insolent pride smothered at the hands of Benoy—not once but twice. This was not the first time that the socalled valiant English rulers behaved in that cowardly manner. There are innumerable such instances. The inhuman tortures inflicted on sick Masterda by the ferocious brutes in the cells after his arrest are unprecedented in the history of the world. Masterda's teeth were uprooted by inflicting blows after blows on his face and unconscious body of Masterda was carried to the gallows for being hanged Tarakeshwar Dastidar also met with the same fate. They blinded one of his eyes with a brutal kick. In Burma they hanged seventy-two freedom fighters, cut off their heads, hang up the pictures of beheaded figures throughout Burma.

The two heroes were progressing satisfactorily and everybody hoped that they would survive. But one day the doctors were taken by surprise. Benoy Bose's head bandage lay torn and loose and a deep penetrating hole in the wounds was visible. Benoy felt it beyond his self-respect to accept nursing and treatment from his bitterest enemies. So he found out a way to release himself from the unbearable conditions and inserted his fingers in the wounds. As a student of medicine he knew quite well how to aggravate the case. According to his plan, conditions became serious day by day. The unconscious Benoy was heard to utter in his delirium "Attention please. Forward march. Left......right, left......charge! Go forward!" His mother came to his beloved son for the last time in the hospital. The mother burst into hear-rendtening cries. Strangely enough a vibration seemed to pass through the body of the man who had shown no sign of any consciousness for the last few days, at the call of his mother. His face beamed with a heavenly smile and he tried to raise his hand to the forehead as if to salute his mother. Benoy was a freedom fighter. So at his last moment he saluted like a heroic soldier his mother, his Motherland and lakhs of his oppressed countrymen. "My Leave has been granted. Bid farewell my brothers! I bow to thee all". Benoy was found dead at six O'clock on Saturday morning (Dec. 14, 1930) It was not known when he passed away in the night. Next morning Sir Charles Tegart was shocked to see the walls of Calcutta covered with the slogan 'Benoy's blood, beckons for more blood'.

Dinesh recovered only to be transferred from the hospital to the condemned cell of the Alipur Central jail. He was tried before a special tribunal presided over by Justice Garlick. But Dinesh was quite indifferent to what was going on. The inevitable and foreseen judgement was declared—Death sentence. There was a wave of protests all over Bengal, specially in Midnapur—Midnapur which Dinesh organised himself. But Dinesh was indifferent as usual. He had treated death all along his life as a friend. Then came July 6, 1931—the last day of Dinesh's life, next day he would be hanged. The arrangements which were briskly going on for his execution—waxing of the manila rope, experiment on the strength of the rope with bags of sands and the busy going officials running on errand—all appeared to him a part of a funny play. In the evening Dinesh was sitting in his cell. A streak of crimson twilight peeped into the condemned cell through a chink of the ventilator. Dinesh looked rapturously at the unexpected ray of light and his mind was filled with etherial joy. Having bathed himself merrily in light he broke out into a melodious song of his favourite poet for the last time welcoming the scarlet light as a symbol of God's message to bless him, to awaken him before departing from this world to inspire his blood with the rythm of its dance. Dinesh meant to say "Oh the setting sun I bow to you. Everything will remain unchanged, the universe will go on its course according to the unalterable law, but I will not be anywhere. But I have no repentance for that. I have no demand. Let your last rays bathe me most lovingly. This is my last prayer."

Last task of Dinesh was to write innumerable letters to his friends and relatives. These were published in the 'Benu' and was highly appreciated by the scholars of the time. They were amazed how it was possible for a mere boy of twenty years to write such beautifully charming and philosophical letters. These were not merely letters—but a philosophy of life. His last letter was written on the early morning of his execution was addressed to his beloved boudi (elder brother's wife) and ran as follows—

> "I received your letter just now. I have no opportunity to tell you the story of my life. But what have I to say? All stories of my life will remain engraved in your hearts for ever. Is it possible to make them brighter by some scratchings on the paper? Forgive my faults. I bid farewel from you for this life. Accept my love and pranam."

In the morning he had to bathe according to the jail code. After his bath he recited incantations in praise of the sun. The sergent and the guards were surprised to see such calmness of a man going to be executed within minutes. One of the sergents asked him "Are you not afraid youngman?" Dinesh broke out into a laughter—"Fear has no place in our life. Do you know what Lord Krishna said in the Gita? This life is like old clothes. Men reject clothes and wear new ones. So our soul gives up old worn out bodies and enter into a new body'. I shall meet you again. You may ask where? Perhaps in this very jail, perhaps youwillhave to perform the same unsavoury job". He laughed out loudly again.

With fearless strides he mounted the gallows—the gallows which was hallowed by the touch of Anantahari Mitra and Promode Chowdhury. This was his pilgrimage. Why should he be afraid? He was asked according to routine whether he had to ask for anything. Dinesh was indignant at the query.

"Please stop. You know very well who have snatched away our freedom of speech? What is then the utility of this frivolous formalities? Do your duty. I am ready". At the end of his last fiery retort with full throated voice he cried out 'Vande Mataram'. The cells echoed and reechoed 'Vande Mataram'. Thus ended the life of a hero—philosopher, poet and a courageous soldier.

Dinesh explained the purpose of their deaths to a matron of the hospital where Dinesh was being treated. She asked him once whether their action—that is, taking poison and shooting themselves—did not tantamount to suicide and whether suicide was not a crime. Dinesh's reply was memorable and a message to his countrymen. It was nothing of a suicide. It was self immolation—a voluntary death—of fulfilment and not of despair.

> Blessed are those who live the days of glory to see
> But the next dearest blessing on earth is the prid.
> of dying for thee.

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( *Contd. from page 28* )

encouraging to us in East Asia to find that Indians all over the world—even in enemy countries are wide awake. You have seen this recently in the case of the San Francisco Conference where Indians in America, headed by Srimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, demanded complete independence for India. Even a flunkey of British imperialism, Sir Feroz Khan Noon had to say in public that no power on the earth could deprive India of her freedom. According to him, the forces of nationalism inside India and world forces outside India, make India's demand for independence irresistible.

In conclusion, I call upon you—my countrymen in Thailand, to come forward and do your duty to India in the difficult ways that are still ahead of us. Above all I want you to cherish the same optimism and confidence in final victory as we have. It is this spiritual strength that is our sheet anchor. India shall be free and before long. With this unshakable belief, let us all continue the struggle for India's emancipation. JAI HIND."

*(To be continued)*

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# Integrated Rural Development Programme ... Bangladesh

**M. MOKAMMEL HAQUE**

*Executive Director IRDP, Bangladesh*

RURAL development is the sum total of improvements effected in various aspects of life and work in rural areas. The key element of the rural development strategy is the will of the people themselves. A successful rural development strategy must strive for translating the will into action. The constitution of Bangladesh as the embodiment of her people's will articulates the Nation's anxiety to effect rapid development of rural arears.

The rural sector forms the bulk of population of Bangladesh and accounts for major contribution to the GNP. The rural masses are however, caught in the vicious circle of low income and low saving within the framework of a subsistence agriculture and the attendant vices of ignorance, ill health and malnutrition.

In the context of the above rural development strategy must have economic justification to be measured in terms of political framework of the Nation. Such programmes would enable the rural people to earn a reasonable living by creating employment opportunities. Simultaneous endeavour will have to be made for equitable redistribution of land and income and balanced regional growth.

Planning for economic development should consider the society in its totality. Planning should be comprehensive, viewing the parts or sectors of the society (social system) as organically inter-related. Modernization and growth in the economic centre cannot be achieved or sustained without simultaneous modernization of other sectors of the society like the family, polity, health, education and the value system. Rural development therefore calls for simultaneous and intensive efforts in a number of sectors by different agencies. The failure to realise its necessity, in the past had given rise to rigidities and vested interest within the government, resulting in the adoption of competitive programmes with isolated targets. It is necessary to lay down clear policy decisions on specific issues to evolve an integrated and concerted approach to rural development. It involves unity of thoughis at the highest level, clear articulation of policies and priorities, cohesive and co-ordinated action among the agencies responsible for planning resource allocation and implementation of programmes. Another important factor which has to be considered is that the traditional vested interests and to create an institutional infra-structure for sustaining the pace of development. To achieve these objectives the inherent pre-conditions to be fulfilled are discipline, professional management, continuous training and a strong degree of Governmental assistance, support, guidance and directions. Accordingly, the following conditions have been laid down for acceptance of a cooperative society in the IRDP—

(1) Get the village society organized and registered and join the TCCA.

(2) Hold weekly meetings at the village with compulsory attendance of all members.

(3) Make regular weekly thrift deposits, have passbooks and buy shares.

(4) Keep proper and complete accounts through the help of trained accountants provided for a group of societies.

(5) Select a trusted man from among the members of the society as manager for weekly training at the TT & DC.

(6) Select an energetic model farmer from themselves for weekly training at TT & DC.

(7) Prepare joint plans for production and use of machines from the TCCA whenever it is available.

(8) Use supervised production credit.

(9) Hold regular member education discussions.

## Objectives of IRDP

The main objectives of the programme are :

(1) To create institutional infra-structure for effective utilization of resources available for development. The method will be to introduce Comilla type co-operative organizations throughout Bangladesh.

(2) To organise farmers into permanent cohesive disciplined groups for planned programme aimed initially at agricultural development.

(3) To utilise institutional credit facilities offered and supervised by the Thana Co-operative Federation and to build rural capital through savings deposit and sale of shares. While the availability of credit is used as an instrument to form co-operatives it is at the same time, one of the primary inputs of the programme. The savings aspect of planned development and co-operative action will be an important feature of the programme.

(4) To select agricultural innovations and to promote adoption of innovation by individual members through co-operatives at the village and supporting co-operative federations at the thana level. Diffusion of ideas and adoption of innovations have to be promoted through people's own institutions and their continuous traininig.

(5) To study and experiment for further development and prepare plans for expanding coverage in areas such as warehousing, marketing, processing, rural electrification, and related areas as education, health, housing etc. The present programme will only cover

the well-tested first phase of co-operation—co-operation for improvement in agriculture—joint use of pumps and tubewells, tractors, demonstration of new methods and techniques through elected representatives of the groups, distribution of credit, training of farm leaders, repayment of loans and savings out of increased income. As the institutional and training programme progress a climate for more programmes will develop. Other functions and activities will be added progressively in successive stages.

(6) To develop local leadership through participation in training programmes organised by the Thana Co-operative Federation and by organising group activities in the villages. Development of leadership at the village and thana levels is a precondition to the growth of viable people's organizations to plan and pilot development programme in a big way. These will pave the way for formation of a country-wide co-operative federation.

(7) The programme is expected to have a favourable effect on income distribution in the rural areas. It has been observed that in the project areas where the approach is already applied, small and medium scale farmers are the main source of new leadership and profit mainly from the new facilities and credit. Such co-operative farmers produce more and save than other farmers.

(8) To reconstruct the rural society towards democratic emphasis should be shifted from technical physical planning to institutional planning.

## Guidelines for Rural Development

Some guidelines for a strategy of rural development keeping in view the constitutional provision and by appeal to certain theories of development in the context of Bangladesh may be listed as follows :—

1. Maximise production and employment with prior consideration for building up an exploiration free society with equitable distribution of income. This entails giving primary attention to the sector presented by medium and small farmers and others on or below the poverty line, who together comprise nearly 85-95% of the rural population. It is in accord with theory that meeting the basic need for food, health clothing and shelter of these people make them a contented populace and they become contributory to a massive break through in the productive sphere. It means in consumer goods production and supply preference of the poor should receive priority over the rich.

2. While planning for food self-sufficiency, equitable distribution of income and increased production must be ensured in the light of socialist commitments of the state. Agricultural strategy must prevent the rise of a new Kulak class in the name of boosting up agricultural production.

3. The rural economy requires infusion of large amount of capital to be supplied to the capital striken farmers. While ensuring adequate credit to the farmers in time, positive steps will have to be taken for mobilisation of rural savings by accumulating farmers own capital through regular thrift deposits for re-investment mainly in the agricultural sector.

4. While planning at the grass root (village) level through democratic participation and strengthening of local government is an agreed principle, modernization in terms of physical infrastructure technical organisational innovation should be a smooth transition from existing pattern. Continuous research and studies needed for this will be the primary responsibility of the IRDP and the Comilla Academy along with other institutions.

5. The conditions in Bangladesh demand positive action programme for family planning.

6. Achieve literacy and formal education for the populace at the quickest pace.

7. The positive steps for minimizing the rural urban gap in income and life style, through planned programme of rural development.

8. Check urban drift resulting in squatting and slums. Rather, provide an atmosphere in the village by developing amenities there so that educated, technically or professionally, sections of people may find it profitable to settle down to work and take leadership role in the villages.

9. While efforts will be made to identify rural growth centres development activity should not contribute to the widening of regional disparity. In fact a start has been made with the Thana serving as the growth centre initially.

10. Socialism entails decentralisation. Such technical and managerial positions as now found in various services of the central government should be minimised in favour of their employment and control by the co-operative or local government agencies.

11. The importance of using the existing institutional set-up needs to be re-emphasised. A procedure for involving the teachers of rural schools and colleges in the process of rural extension service will be of far reaching importance.

12. While policy decision, administrative and fiscal measure at the micro level will have their impact on the transformation of the rural sector, disjunction may be placed in action and planning at the local micro level. It is at this micro level that the role of the IRDP is of special significance. The IRDP man as he will be trained, and oriented to the basic philosophy of the state, planning, management and institution building will be the agent of the state at the local level to perform both the modernising (*e.g.* help from efficient co-operatives) and the integrative role for "holistic" development of the rural sector.

## The Need for Institutional Planning

Institutional development in the context of an economically underdeveloped society becomes crucially important because traditional institutions often put constraint on large scale adoption of technological innovations. While the technical plan or programme may be developed on the assumption of high level of adoption, in reality both the level of adoption and rate of efficiency may fall far below expectation if institutional planning is not made along with technical planning. Experiences of developing countries including Bangladesh are replete with such actualities when programmes failed to rise up to the targeted goals and expectations.

There is need to consciously promote, develop and support local participatory leadership and involve them in the implementation of governmental developmental policies and measures, performance and leadership are significantly related to responsibility and involvement. No programme with assumption of mass participation can achieve a reasonable degree of success if people do not involve themselves in it and organized public participation is only possible through institutional normative involvement.

## Co-operative Institution

The relevance of cooperatives as an effective tool for participation in development have been shown through the experiences of collectives in Russia, the communes in China, the Kibbutz in Israel and the various forms of cooperatives in Yugoslavia, Egypt and Taiwan and on a limited scale through the "New Cooperatives" on Comilla Model in Bangladesh.

These cooperatives become not only tools for higher targeted production but also act as change agent from "within" in various other spheres and particularly in bringing down the inhibitions of traditional society in the acceptance of innovations, economic, political or social.

In Bangladesh the success of innovations like the high yielding varieties of rice coupled with artificial irrigation was to a large measure due to an inter agency coordinative approach working through the new model cooperatives. A significant rise in production backed by rapid modernisation of agriculture and increased use of inputs is now happening with co-operatives as the participatory process of the local institutions. Other changes are also becoming evident through this two-way approach. *(Continued)*

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# *Strategy of Right Reaction*

**MOHIT SEN**

(*Member of the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of India*)

(1) IN order to understand the strategy of Right reaction it is essential, in the first place, to identify the class forces who form its base and then to analyse the present balance of class forces in our country and the form of their political articulation.

The identification of the class forces behind Right reaction presents no particular difficulty. There can be little doubt in the minds of the socialist inclined parties and forces that the foreign imperialist interests, Indian monopolists and the landlords are the Trimurti hoping to convert India into a neocolony with an authoritarian state structure and a chauvinist even racist ideology. This would not only mean the defeat of India's future but also the subversion of all that is positive and forward looking in India's present policy and social set-up.

The importance of identifying the class forces behind Right reaction consists in knowing from whom the present counter-revolutionary offensive emanates and whom to strike back at, if the offensive is to be halted and reversed.

It is, unfortunately, not always recognised that Right reaction is not a disembodied spirit but a material force with roots in our present set-up. Indeed, it is one of the functions and forms of the strategy of Right reaction to divert attention from this objective reality. This is attempted in a number of ways familiar enough to any student of the Nazi road to power. It surely, therefore, must be one of the main aspects of all who wish to counter the Right to reveal their roots.

It should not be imagined that since the number of Indian and foreign monopolists and landlords is relatively small compared to the population of our country that, therefore, their influence could not be much greater. The power of the class forces behind the Right is out of all proportion to their size and this has been the experience of all countries. Money, manipulation and mystification are all brought into play by these forces to form a vast army of Right reaction. Let us remember that such an authoritative body as the Election Commission of India had officially pointed out that money perverts the democratic process in our country not only during polling day and not even only during the election campaign but throughout the year.

(2) It is these powerful forces that are at work in a complex and even critical political situation in our country.

There is no doubt that the Right bid for power in 1969-71 was thwarted by the powerful mass-political mobilisation of the more farsighted and purposive Left and democratic parties and forces. A most important role was played by the Prime Minister in this process. At the same time the voting figures of of 1971 and 1972 revealed that the Right had a big mass base and could surely have won but for this powerful campaign and a measure of unity established between the farsighted and purposive Left and democratic parties and forces. Where such a campaign did not develop and where even minimum unity was not established Right reaction made an immediate come-back. The contrast between the results in the capital of the Lok Sabha and the Corporation elections are still fresh in our minds. One should also mention here the contrast between the Ahmedabad and Cuttack results—a happier contrast, of course, than the previous one.

Unfortunately, following the 1972 elections, this mobilisation was not extended and the minimum unity not consolidated, let alone developed. In class terms it can be stated that an attempt was made to try to reunify the entire capitalist class, though not under aegis of the monopolists as was sought to be done by the emerging Grand Alliance from 1964 to 1969. In the process there was in evidence a tendency to try to contain the independent expression and advance of the petty bourgeois and intermediate strata alongside of curtailing the power of action of the working class and the other toilers. It was this tendency that was responsible for the widening gap between the mandate asked for from the people—and most abundantly secured and the actual process of implementation. The result was a certain dismay and dismay in the ranks of those whose cohesion was essential for the carry forward of the magnificent victory in the war against Pakistani aggression and for the liberation of Bangla Desh.

No one can deny that the situation was difficult and made more so by the drought. But the failure to go forward was, above all, due to this tendency of a wrong sort of reordering and reunification that was sought to be achieved.

The hegemony that had been established in 1969-72 was based on a Left thrust embodied in anti-imperialist determination and radical social restructuring. This hegemony required the carrying forward of the right type of class constellation and its proper articulation in the appropriate kind of united front. One must say here that there is a direct and dialectical relationship between hegemony and the united front. One can say that hegemony cannot be established by seeking to gather together all and sundry. It is not the attempt to unite all that brings about or is the exercise of hegemony. It is unity of all who have to be united for advance towards a particular goal that is secured through a specific hegemony and in turn, secures that hegemony.

This tendency was utilised by the Right first to confuse through a show of cooperation, provided social change was avoided. Stability was the keyword and not the dynamic, thrusting equilibrium of the surging days of 1969-72.

It was when, through the manifestation of the radicalised mass mood and militant action, there was an effort made at recovery, an attempt to carry through the mandate in some specific areas that the Right went on to its new offensive. It has to be borne in mind that this offensive takes place in a particular conjuncture when the failure of a particular orientation has not yet been replaced by a new one. It takes place, therefore, at a time when there is too much of drift, indecisiveness and ad-hocism. But that it is at all taking place is evidence that the slideback has been halted in its crocks. But a halt is precisely the place before a battle and when forces regroup.

(3) The distinguishing feature of the present strategy of Right reaction is the abandonment of the previous attitude of frontal opposition to progressive policies and measures. Social-demagogy replaces the previous allout condemnation. This is a typical fascist technique. It was no accident that the Nazis called themselves national socialists. Indeed, one of the prominent theoreticians of the Jana Sangh has declared that the winning of power is possible only when a myth seizes the people—the point is to ensure that it is one's myth and not somebody else's! There was no reason, in his view, why the different parts of the programme of a political party should not contradict each other, provided the whole package attracted the masses or one aspect attracted one section and the other aspects other sections. His analysis was that the Left, including both Congressmen and Communists, had little chance of success in India as they were too national!

Using social-demagogy on a very wide scale Right reaction now operates a fourfold strategy.

*Firstly*, it concentrates upon the sabotage of progressive decisions. When, after a great deal of pressure and action, a progressive decision is adopted like the takeover of the wholesale trade in wheat, work immediately begins to guarantee its failure. All the loopholes are taken advantage of. Corruption is resorted to on a colossal scale. And, above all, the resistance of the forces hurt by these progressive decisions is connived at and even encouraged. The role of the bureaucracy at different levels—with honourable exceptions, of course—is crucial here. A change at the base cannot be executed by a superstructure of that base itself.

*Secondly*, Right reaction uses the tactic of diversion. It realises that there is a tremendous amount of discontent and impatience among the masses. It realises that the radicalism of the masses has yet to take coherent shape in the form of a concrete national programme and organisation. It, therefore, steps in to intercept the masses as they wish and move for change.

For example, unemployment. There is no other issue, except rising prices, which is as sensitive and explosive. Thus. when something happens that appears to affect the job possibilities of any particular section a tremendous diversionary action is launched. The agitation against the Mulki Rules in Andhra Pradesh is a classic illustration of this tactic. The drawing in of the petty bourgeoisie and the intermediate strata by playing upon regionalism and separatism, utilising the existing imbalances and the law of uneven development of capitalism, is a tactic that is the favourite one of Right reaction in India today. Andhra, Assam, Orissa, Bombay—the pattern is clear. And the tactic has been wellthoughtout in quarters not located on Indian soil as if to punish us for the help we rendered to the liberation struggle in Bangladesh. Hindu-Muslim riots are also on the agenda of Right reaction. But this is to be supplemented and even surpassed by the use of regional differences.

An integral part of this tactic is the use of caste feelings. It is now widely propagated that land reforms are intended to bring about the rule of the Harijans, the *chamars* and to finish off the caste Hindus. The increasing assaults on the Harijans is no accident. It is part of the plan to rally even the small-propertied peasant on a caste basis against land reforms and taxation on the higher slabs of rural income.

*Thirdly*, the organisation of armed paramilitary squads for purposes of wellplanned acts of loot, burning and intimidation. The proliferation of *Senas* and *Vahinies* in Andhra Pradesh was not a spontaneous growth. It was all part of a design. The utterly virulent attacks in public on the Prime Minister were no sudden outburst but a calculated manoeuvre to brutalise the mass mind, to accustom it to accept any kind of violence and outrage. And it has to be said here that the connivance and cooperation of sections of the bureaucracy with these well-armed and well-trained gange produces a most menacing combination. It should be recalled that it was precisely this kind of combination between the Brown shirts of Hitler and the topechelons of the state apparatus of the Weimar Republic that eventually smashed up the Left, progressive and liberal parties and organisations and made Germany the country of concentration camps.

*Fourthly*, Right reaction seeks to build what Sri Biju Patnaik described as a "federal type" of united front. It is federal in two senses of the term. In one sense it is federal since it is hoped to base it on regional parties—including breakaway groups from the national parties. The aim is to organise a *gherao* of the centre as a preliminary to pulling it down. In another sense it is to be federal since the various units comprising this front have full autonomy to press ahead with slogans and campaigns which are contradictory in character. The Left components of this "federal" united front can campaign that the takeover of the

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# *Can Democracy exist in the midst of Poverty ?*

## K. C. SAXENA

**"No Democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality"**--*Jawaharlal Nehru*

IT IS A MERE truism that political democracy has no meaning if it does not embrace economic democracy. And if some of the democracies of the world did not survive, it is because they were bereft of any economic content. What ails our country even after twenty-five years of independence is, that, we have so far failed to achieve our economic freedom.

Our Five-year Plans on which hinges the prosperity of our country, have not been able to provide enough jobs to our unemployed, whose number is legion. The prices of the essential commodities are spiralling and corruption is rampant in high places.

The one lesson that we have learnt from our Five-year Plans is that, massive financial outlays will not necessarily usher in a millennium. After four Five-year Plans, the number of people below the poverty line today is as astronomical as it was two decades ago.

According to the annual report on the working of industrial and commercial undertakings of the Central Government for 1970-71, about 87 running public-sector concerns in our country incurred a loss of Rs. 3.37 crores during the year 1970-71. Further, Hindustan Steel incurred a loss of Rs. 4.72 crores. According to the Public Undertakings Committee of Parliament, the Heavy Engineering Corporation may wipe out its entire paid-up capital of Rs. 100 crores in the next two years. Taking an over-all view, it is astonishing to learn that an investment of about Rs. 5,000 crores has so far failed to yield even 1 percent return.

Monopolies in this country are a hindrance to the economic policies to which the Parliament and the Government are pledged. The 75 monopoly houses control 53 per cent of the assets of the non-banking private corporate sectors. Commission after Commission has categorically established that the monopoly houses are not production-oriented but operate on the principle of maximum profits with minimum production, alongwith pre-emption of licences, collaboration agreements with foreign companies and black money operations.

The deficit budgets presented year after year are a result of the inept working of these public-sector undertakings. How long is the poor consumer expected to support the white elephants of the Government by taxation ?

Implementation of development schemes has been the Achille's heel. The reason is not the paucity of funds, but the administrative lethargy and the casual approach of the Government. The State Governments have failed to make use of the funds provided by the Central Government to generate employment in the rural areas. For instance, out of Rs. 72.41 crores provided for rural employment projects, the State Governments used only Rs. 6.5 crores in 1970-71 and Rs. 10 crores in 1971-72. Out of the funds made available for providing credits to small farmers and for help to farm labourers, hardly 10 per cent was utilised in the past two years. The so-called 'Crash Programme' for making available jobs to the rural unemployed has thus crashed.

The spectre of unemployment is stalking the land. It has reached gigantic dimensions. It is of great magnitude than even the external aggression. According to the Government's statistics. more than half a mllion people with first class degree holders in Science, Engineering, Medicine and Technology, are without any job, in our country at the end of the year 1971. We have almost half the population living below the poverty line and, as a result thereof, there is mental retardation and physical incapacity.

The number of those seeking jobs on the live registers of the employment exchanges alone have doubled from 25 lakhs to 50 lakhs in the last five years. The most distressing aspect of the situation is that a fifth of these comprise post-graduates and professionals on whose training the country has expended a great deal of money. The approach to the Fifth Plan has its objective of the 'eradication of mass poverty'! This is proposed to be achieved through increasing employment opportunities and also multiplying the supplies of basic necessaries of life. An outlay of Rs. 90 crores has been proposed in the Fifth Five Year Plan to create five lakh jobs. It, however, remains to be seen how far the programme will be translated into action but a concerted drive to the end is undoubtedly essential.

The powers-that-be have all along failed to hold the price-line. That soaring prices and inflation go together cannot be disputed. The basic causes of the inflationary trend have been pinpointed in the Fifth Plan approach paper. These are excess demands in relation to goods available, presence of unaccounted incomes, increased costs and rise in wages unrelated to improvement in productivity. Some of these factors are inter-related. For instance, excess demand in relation to goods available is caused by additional purchasing power gained by certain sections. The additional purchasing power generated by tax evasion and blackmoney also act as a price stimulant. There is scramble for limited quantities that come to the market and prices inevitably go up.

Inflation and its attendant evils can hardly be tackled by taking the path of least resistance. The long-term solution obviously lies in an all-round increase in industrial and agricultural production. A short-term remedy could be to enforce a freeze on prices, wages and profits as has been tried in Britain. Despite stiff resistance from the Trade Unions, Prime Minister, Edward Heath, decided to follow up the 90-day wage and price freeze with comprehensive legislation to regulate wages, prices and profits. The fact that the British Press and public both have greeted the move shows that the freeze has had a salutary effect. Such a freeze cannot be brought about by friendly persuation.

The entire phenomenon has assumed the character of a vicious circle. Rising prices erode the real incomes leading to fresh wage claims which, when conceded, trigger off a fresh prices spurt. What is needed is bold and imaginative action to save the economy from being put out of gear permanently. Some method may also be devised for linking wages with production and productivity. Once the workers realise that any increase in their earnings will be dependent on increased production, they are bound to exert themselves to the utmost. Similarly, no effort should be spared to mop up the unaccounted incomes which are as much responsible, if not more, for the price rise, as increase in wages unrelated to productivity.

Talking about corruption in high places in this country, Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, said recently, that "the tragedy of countries like India is that the elite have become so corrupt that while talking glibly of egalitarian ideals, they have no intention whatsoever of giving up their privileges, their soft, corrupt and luxurious lives." Over the years, he added, they had frustrated all attempts to implement the steps urgently required to ensure social justice.

What causes anxiety is not the mere prevalance of corruption in our society but the pace at which it is growing and the forms it takes to obstruct the various steps initiated for the social and economic development and the uplift of the underdog along accepted lines. The controversies that come up so often over transfers, promotions, grant of licences, evasion of tax, awarding of contracts, circumvention of ceiling laws and so on, are only a faint reflection of the rottenness at the core of our public life.

Mr. M. C. Chagla, the great jurist, recently said, at a Delhi Seminar that corruption seeps down from the top and spreads inexorably at the lower levels chiefly because of public apathy. Certainly, a clean politician at the top of a department, assisted by an honest bureaucrat can minimise if not completely eliminate corruption at the lower levels. But alas, the clean politician is becoming increasingly rare, and the clean bureaucrat rarer.

What is the remedy? Mr. Chagla feels that it is all due to the apathy of the people, who do not exercise their power of ostracism and vote. This is true in the sense that the corrupt are found in key positions despite general awareness of their character and activities. But why this lack of vigilance to expose the misdeeds of the wrong-doers? It is because that both the political leadership and the elite have failed to tackle the problem in right earnest. They either become tolerant of mal-practices or worse, get drawn into the cesspool themselves.

It is hoped that the honest ones among the hierarchy of our leadership will come forward to fight the evil to rid the Indian society from the octopus grip of corruption. It is a very big hurdle in eradicating the the abysmal poverty of the teeming millions in this country.

If the prices continue to escalate, the un-employed youth do not get gainful employment and the Augean Stables of corruption are not cleaned, it will sound death-knell to our Indian democracy.

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(*Contd. from page 38*)

wholesale trade in wheat is inadequate and leaves too much scope for the play of market forces. The Right components of the same front can campaign against the wholesale takeover of the wheat trade on the ground that this would disrupt the market mechanism which alone guarantees good price to the producer and supplies to the consumer. What would be common? That both would attack the government and help to pull it down. Here Right reaction plays upon the sectarian and infantile opportunism of some Left parties, forces and personalities who believe that the opposition is the opposition without caring to clarify—opposition against what and for what?

Through the use of this fourfold strategy what is the immediate objective that Right reaction seeks to secure? It is nothing else but anarchy and chaos. If there is a state of breakdown then it would be able to push ahead to its perspective goal—the seizure of power. This, too, is reminiscent of the early 1930s in Germany.

(4) It is not the purpose of this brief note to attempt to work out a counterstrategy for the Left and democratic parties and forces. Only three concluding points would be made. The fight against the Right cannot be a struggle to defend the *status quo*. It has to be simultaneously a battle for a move to the Left. At the same time it is futile to struggle for a Left shift without concentrating fire on the Right and defeating its strategy of sabotaging implementation of progressive official decisions and of creating diversionary movements. Finally, neither of these two objectives can be achieved without the unity of all who want the speedy advance of India to full democracy and socialism. Eschewing of sectarian prejudices by all the Left and democratic parties and forces is the need of the hour.

# INDIA YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY

### O. P. MEHROTRA

In spite of the fact that the trade agreement between India and Soviet Union was signed only at the end of 1953, (some trade on the basis of barter deals existed ever earlier) India during the first plan period, imported on an average goods worth Rs. 105 lakh while she exported commodities worth Rs. 286 lakhs. This new direction of trade, in the years to come, helped India to reduce her dependence on the capitalist world market.

Soon after the signing of the trade agreement in December 1953, the Soviet Union offered to help India to build a modern integrated steel plant. In his book, 'The Lamp And The Lampstand", Shri K. P. S. Menon India's former Ambassador to the USSR has recorded this event in these words: "For three centuries, during what Sardar Panikkar called the Vasco Da Gama era, Asians and Africans had been treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. It was their role to supply raw materials to the rich nations of the West who manufactured them, exported them at enormous profits and thus became richer. Even after Asian states began to become independent, it was feared that this pattern of economic relationship would persist. This was broken once and for all when the Soviet Government came forward with an offer to put up a steel plant in Bhilai with an initial capacity of one million tons, to be extended to 2.5 million, on unprecedentedly favourable terms. At first it was difficult for the Western newspapers to believe that such an offer could have been made or accepted. The London *Times* correspondent in New Delhi wired that 'a snap decision' was taken in New Delhi previous day to request the Soviet Government to put up a steel plant. Subsequent events showed that it was by no means a snap decision but the beginning of a well-considered policy to establish and promote economic collaboration between India and the USSR."

Reacting to India's growing economy contracts with the Soviet Union and realising that India was no more dependent on the Western countries alone for the supply of capital goods and machinery, business circles in the West began to relax their terms. India secured West German collaboration for the Rourkela Steel Plant on terms much more favourable to it than those offered earlier. When on February, 2, 1955, the credit agreement between the Government of India and the USSR for Soviet assistance in the construction of an integrated steel works with one million tonne of ingot steel capacity was signed, the whole world could see what aid from a socialist country meant.

Although in money terms, the Bhilai credit was of the value of Rs. 647.4 million only, the agreement ushered in a new era of large-scale economic and technical cooperation between our two countries. Signed at a crucial moment in India's history the Bhilai agreement acted veritably as a declaration of Soviet support for the country's programme of industrialisation. What is more, it also paved the way for securing economic and technical collaboration from some Western countries. Soon after the Bhilai agreement, a British consortium agreed to set up another one-million-tonne steel plant at Durgapur.

The signing of the Bhilai agreement was the highly symptomatic Soviet gesture towards countries emerging from colonialism and embarking on a course of independent economic development. It was, therefore, no ordinary agreement, its significance went far beyond the construction of a still mill. Bhilai set a new pattern of aid and economic relations between developed and developing countries.

It was truly an aid agreement, an agreement without any strings attached to it. While agreeing to assist India in the construction of steel plant, the USSR did not demand any pecuniary benefits for itself, any share in the eqity capital of the project or in the future profits from it. On the contrary the credit offered by it was of a long-term nature and carried very low interest—only two-and-a-half per cent as against six per cent and more changed by the Western financial agencies. The credit was to be repaid in 12 years after the delivery of the plant and equipment. What was even more important from the point of view of India, the repayment was to be made in Indian rupees to be credited to special account in the Reserve Bank of India which the USSR could use for making purchases in India.

It is the background of these development that the Second Five-Year Plan was formulated by the Planning Commission.

While carrying the basic policies initiated under the First Plan a step further, the Second Plan placed emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries.

"In the long run", said the Planning Commission Paper Relating to the Formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan, "the rate of industrialisation and the growth of national economy would depend on the increasing production of coal, electricty, iron and steel, heavy machinery, heavy chemicals and heavy industries generally which would increase the capacity for capital formation. One important aim is to make India independent, as quickly as possible, of foreign imports of producer goods so that the accumulation of capital would not be hampered by difficulties in securing supplies of essential producer goods from other countries. The heavy industries, therefore, must be expanded with all possible speed."

The Plan defined more clearly the key role that the public sector was to play in economic development of the country. Along with the emphasis that it put on accelerating the rate of growth of the national economy and creating conditions for more rapid development in the future, the Second Plan placed before the nation the goal of the socialist pattern of society. It also set the objectives of increasing employment opportunities and reducing disparities in income and wealth and bringing about a more even distribution of economic power.

The Plan proposed total outlay of Rs. 48.000 million in the public sector, of which roughly Rs. 38.000 million was to represent investment *i. e.* investment on building of productive assets. and Rs. 10,000 million, which could be broadly called current development expenditure. As against this investment through private efforts was estimated at Rs. 24,000 million. Total investment in the Second Plan was to be nearly twice that in the First Plan.

The rate of investment during the five year period 1956-1961, was to increase from 7 per cent of national income in the first year of the Plan to 11 per cent by the end of the Plan. The Second Plan aimed at more rapid rate of growth of national income—5 per cent, as against 3.5 per cent in the first plan.

The distribution of outlay by major heads of development in the Second Plan showed a relative shift in priorities, compared with the First Plan. As a proportion of the total outlay there was a significant increase under the head Industry and Mining from 7.6 per cent in the First Plan to 18 5 per cent. Transport and communication also showed an increase from 23 6 per cent to 28.9 per cent.

The relative shares of all other groups showed a decline, which is clear from the following table.

**Distribution of Plan Outlay by Major Heads of Development**

| | First Five Year Plan | | Second Five Year Plan | | Per cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Provision (Rs., crores) | per cent | Total Provision (Rs., crores) | per cent | increase of (4) over (2) |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Agriculture and Community Development | 357 | 15.1 | 568 | 11.8 | 59.1 |
| Irrigation and Power | 661 | 28 1 | 913 | 19.0 | 38.1 |
| Industry and Mining | 179 | 7 6 | 890 | 18 5 | 397 2 |
| Transport and Communications | 557 | 23.6 | 1,385 | 28.9 | 148.7 |
| Social Services | 533 | 22.6 | 945 | 19.7 | 77.3 |
| Miscellaneous | 69 | 3.0 | 99 | 2.1 | 43.5 |
| TOTAL : | 2.356 | 100.0 | 4,800 | 100 0 | |

When the Second Plan came to a close in March 1961, the National income had increased by 20 per cent, industrial production by nearly 41 per cent, agricultural production by nearly 20 per cent and rate of investment had grown to 11 per cent of the National income.

(Continued)

# TIME FOR DECISIONS

# On Soviet-American Trade and Economic Relations

*V. Alkhimov*

**G. Arbatov, N. Inozemtsev**

## I

The two years that have passed since the 24th Congress of the CPSU have been marked by important changes in the international situation. These changes draw a line, as it were, under the past, signifying political settlement of problems left over by the second world war. At the same time, they are indicative of an increasingly evident turn from the long years of cold war to relations based on the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different systems, to a relaxation of international tension and promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation.

Our Party, the whole Soviet people entertain feelings of profound satisfaction and pride over the fact that the improvement of the international situation is in many respects the result of the consistent policy and great efforts of the Soviet Union. These feelings were manifested with particular force in thousands upon thousands of enthusiastic comments on the results of the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Practical activity of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Soviet state in carrying into life the foreign-policy line charted by the 24th Congress of the Party received the highest appraisal at the Plenary Meeting The great personal contribution made by L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the implementation of the foreign-policy line of the Party was specially noted in this connection. The colossal work done by him, his firmness and adherence to principle coupled with a keen understanding of all the peculiarities of the situation, and outstanding ability as analyzer of highly complicated political problems and negotiator, all this has contributed in large measure to the signal successes of Soviet foreign policy. The high appreciation of L. I. Brezhnev's personal services in the struggle for peace was accentrated by the award of the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" to him

Along with summing up the results of the past two years the April Plenary Meeting discussed and approved ways of cotinuing the effort to carry out the decisions of the Congress, to implement in practice the Programme worked out by it.

The Party projected the task of proceeding with the peace offensive, of deepening, consolidating and making irreversible the positive shifts that are taking place in the international situation. The realization of this task, tremendous in magnitude, complex and at the same time noble, presupposes new active steps in all main directions: further build-up of the might of world socialism, strengthening of the unity and cohesion of socialist countries, extension of co-operation with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, affirmation of the principles of peaceful co-existence and promotion of relations with the capitalist states, and consolidation of peace and international security.

The concrete tasks set in this connection include the important one of widening the Soviet Union's economic relations with other states, the largest capitalist powers included. This accords both with the interests of our national economy, making for fuller use of the advantages of international division of labour, and with the interests of peace, for the development of economic contaets contributes to improving the international situation and makes all states more interested in detente.

V.I. Lenin, the founder of our state, attached great importance to this aspect of the matter back in the very first years of Soviet power. Today, when the possibilities of our country have grown immensely, the economic and political importance of its external economic relations has further increased.

## AN ERA OF CHANGE

The realities of the present-day epoch are also compelling the leading capitalist powers to alter their attitude to trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to abandon the former policy of restrictions and discrimination. These changes also find their expression in the stand of the chief capitalist country—the United States. If up until recently that country not only itself did everything towards limitting commercial relations with the USSR but also strove to make its allies do the same, then since the time of the historic talks between the Soviet leaders and President R. Nixon of the United States in Moscow in May last year, which marked a turning point as it were in relations between our countries, considerable progress has been made on a number of very important fundamental problems connected with trade and economic relations between the USSR and the USA.

As is known, the "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the USA" were agreed upon at the Soviet-American summit talks. There is no doubt that this document signed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. on behalf of the USSR, and by President R. Nixon, on behalf of the USA, is of exceptional imortance for the normalisation of Soviet-American relations as a whole and commercial and economic ties in particular. The First clause of this document reads that the USSR and the USA "will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Differences in ideology and in the social systems of the USSR and the USA are not obstacles to bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage."

Similarly of great importance is the Seventh clause of the document, which reads that "the USSR and the USA regard commercial and economic ties as an important and necessary element in the strengthening of their bilateral relations and thus will actively promote the growth of such ties. They will facilitate cooperation between the relevant organisations and enterprises of the two countries and the conclusion of appropriate agreements and contracts, including long-term ones."

These provisions laid foundations as it were for the further efforts towards normalising Soviet-American economic relations. What results have been achieved in nearly a year's time separating us from the Moscow summit meeting ? Have the favourable conditions that took shape after the meeting been used for the development of these relations ?

That question as a whole can be answered in the affirmative. Concrete facts warrant such a conclusion. Over the year, the trade turnover between the USSR and the USA has increased almost threefold. Contracts have been concluded on a number of large projects, while others are being still negotiated. And what is important is the fact that over a short period of time the attitude of the public, business circles and the US government to the question of trade with the Soviet Union has undergone serious changes.

Such, perhaps, is the main general impression formed by the authors of this article as a result of their recent trip to the United States, where they had been invited for participation in a special conference on Soviet-American trade organised by the US National Association of Manufacturers—an organisation uniting firms which account for close to three quarters of America's industrial production.

The meetings and talks with businessmen and there were about 800 of them at the conference, although its sponsors had expected that there would be not more than 300 participants), the speeches made at the conference by prominent representatives of the business world and of the US government testified by themselves to very important positive shifts in the Americans' approach to the development of Soviet-American economic relations. W. Casey, the US Under-Secretary of State, as if expressing these sentiments, declared to the applause from the businessmen attending the conference that a policy impeding trade with the Soviet Union was turning into an anachronism.

## CAUSES OF CHANGE

All this offers a sharp contrast to the sentiments that prevailed in the USA on this question during the past quarter of a century. The question is not out of place here : what is the reason for the change in the stand of the American side ?

First of all, it should be mentioned that the new approach of the American side is a legitimate result of those important objective changes that have taken place in the world in recent times.

One of the main distinguishing features of the present-day international situation, including the sphere of world economic relations, consists in that imperialism today is compelled, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the International Meeting of Communist and workers' Parties in Moscow in June 1969, "to adapt itself to new conditions, to the conditions of struggle between the two systems", conditions in which it finds itself in connection with the increased might of socialism, in connection with the abolition of the colonial regimes, in connection with the onslaught of the working-class movement. Thus, one can say that the basic cause for modifications in the approach of the American side to questions of trade and economic ties with the USSR has largely been created by the historical changes in the world arena, which were a direct result of the influence of the three factors : world socialism, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle of peoples.

The rapid development of the economic potential and the foreign economic ties of the USSR and the coutries of the socialist community as a whole has long shown far-sighted people in the United States that the policy of imposing bans and restrictions on trade with socialist countries does not yield the results that the

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# The Health Services in Czechoslovakia

**Marcela Andrlova**

Before leaving for a trip abroad, every Czechoslovak citizen visits his dentist, and sees his doctor for an examination, and asks him to prescribe the medicines he is used to. The reason for this is that should he fall ill abroad he would have to pay for medical services, whereas he has them free of charge at home !

You may say that people do not appreciate this kind of medical attendance enough or even misuse it : there is something in this. although every citizen of Czechoslovakia considers free-of-charge medical services to be great asset.

## Health insurance

Health insurance for state employées goes back to long before World War Two, however it was only after 1948 that the disunited insurance system was unified, so that now all citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fall under health insurance scheme. This is expressed by the law on health insurance which ensures security for the working people and their families in case of illness or childbirth.

The State also grants family allowances. Every worker who is unable to work as a result of illness or accident, or who cannot work because of quarantine, is entitled to benefits in lieu of wages. Depending on the length of employment the benefits are from 60 to 90 per cent of the patient's net wages, (50 to 70 per cent during the first three days of illness).

Sickness benefits and childbirth allowances are also granted to farmers working in agricultural cooperatives.

Every person who has the bad luck to fall ill is not only entitled sick pay but also to medical care, treatment in hospitals, institutes and in certain instances also in spas free of charge.

## Spa treatment

In the Czech lands, around 155,000 working people are granted balneological treatment free of charge every year. Vouchers for spa treatment are issued by the appropriate trade union bodies in enterprises, on the basis of medical recommendation. In this case the person pays only a voluntary sum, and medical spa treatment is granted only as part of the normal paid holidays.

Every patient pays only 10 Czechoslovak crowns a day if he goes to the spa during the season, and 5 crowns if he is there out of season. Otherwise the whole treatment would cost 2,500 Czechoslovak crowns on average.

More serious complaints such as conditions after operations of the stomach or gall bladder, cardiac diseases and so on, are treated outside their normal holidays and the whole stay is free of charge. All participants also have their fares paid.

All other patients pay for their treatment in the spas. Last year 266 thousand people, including patients from abroad, were treated only in the Bohemian spas, of which the bestknown are Karlovy Vary, Marianske Lazne and Frantiskovy Lazne.

## In the hands of the State

A health service of this extent could naturally be introduced only after the nationalisation of hospitals and medical establishments, spas and natural medicinal resources, the pharmaceutic and medical industry, which was done from 1948 to 1952. The State also controls all pharmacies and opthalmic enterprises as well as the former surgeries of private doctors. Thus, the State took over full responsibility for the health of the population.

Medical care is also ensured by a dense network of surgeries and a well-equipped first-aid and ambulance service.

For its population of 14 million, Czechoslovakia has more than 31 thousand doctors. And not even the mountain regions are short of doctors because medical personnel working there have certain financial advantages.

The health districts in towns, villages and plants are the basic organisational link of the medical system, where besides the main personality of the district, the doctor—an internist—there is a paediatrist, gynaecologist and stomatologist, as well as specialised personnel of lower qualification.

Around 60 per cent of the doctors are men and 40 per cent women who specialise mainly in paediatrics and stomatology.

The Czechoslovak health service works on a preventive system and main stress is put on care for the health of the young generation.

## For mother and child

The mother and child care begins during pregnancy. Future mothers are subjected to regular examinations, and special courses and hours of specialised gymnastics combined with preparation for the confinement are organised for them.

If they are employed their paid maternity leave begins four weeks before the expected confinement, Around 98 per cent of the women are confined in maternity homes. And when the mother returns home with her week-old baby, it comes under the care of the district paediatrist and a children's nurse.

At the age of three months all children are examined at the orthopaedic department, to ensure that their hip joints are in order.

Immediately after birth the babies are inoculated against tuberculosis, and from the age of three months to one year against diphteria, tetanus and whooping cough, against smallpox and poliomyelitis.

Children of school age are under the supervision of a special school doctor who controls the hygienic conditions in the schools, organisation of tuition, the strain on the pupils, and in the case of those leaving school (at the age of fifteen) they assess the state of health of the children in view of their incorporation into the production process.

The infant mortality rate is dropping in all age catagories. In Czechoslovakia in 1945 it was 136.8 pro mille, while in 1967 it had dropped to 22.9 pro mille. Unfortunately accidents account for one third of the death rate among the children.

Thanks to inoculation and other preventive measures there also is a decrease in the illness rate among children, especially from contagious diseases. The illness rate caused by certain infectious diseases, for instance diphteria, whooping cough, poliolyelitis and typhus has dropped below the limit of medical significance. Since 1960 not a single child has fallen ill with poliomylitis. The struggle against lung tuberculosis is also very successful.

On the other hand there is a relative increase in virus and bacterial disease of the respiratory tract—throughout the entire population. Catarrhs of the upper respiratory tract are the most frequent reason for inability of work—in times of influenza epidemies they account for up to 40 per cent of all persons unable to work.

## Working people's health

Modern times bring an increasing number of so-called occupational diseases, neuroses and other psychic complaints as well as disturbances of the blood circulation. Doctors are trying to combat these diseases and this is why large enterprises have their own laboratories which investigate the noisiness in the plants, the toxicity of the atmosphere, the suitability of tools and implements and so on.

For instance besides its two policlinics and large CKD Works in Prague has also an audiological laboratory, an inhalatorium for the workers of the foundry and a so-called night sanatorium where employees go for treatment directly after work, to be brought back fresh and fit again by the works autobus in the morning.

Another enterprise—the Vitkovice Steelworks of Ostrava—has an excellently equipped centre for treating burns, directly on the premises.

Institutes which deal with problems of hygiene have solved many tasks connected with the determination of hygienic norms, and introduced measure for health protection. One of the most important tasks was the specification of riskiness and toxicity of substances, the prevention of occupational skin diseases, questions of air pollution and its effect on the health.

In view of the attention paid to protecting the health of the working people, it is not surprising that Czechoslovak scientists have achieved outstanding successes in the field of industrial neurology, hygiene of work and occupational diseases.

Other fields in which Czechoslovak doctors have contributed to the development of world science include vascular surgery, diagnostics of eye diseases, research into genetics and inborn defects, cardio-surgery and traumatology.

Many new findings have also resulted from research work in the branches of resuscitation, the transplanation of organs, nuclear medicine and medical electronics. The leve of Czechoslovak science is documented by the interest shown in cooperation by the World Health Organisation.

Czechoslovakia also conducts epidemiological and clinical research of tuberculosis, epidemiological research of cardiovascular ailments, and many courses and seminars sponsored by the World Health Organisation are held in this country.

Czechoslovakia is also frequently the venue of international congress and symposiums dealing with problems of medical science.

# Successful Foreign Policy of the GDR—Breakthrough towards International Equality

**PETER LORF**

*Head of the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR*

Certainly no one will deny today that the foreign relations of the German Democratic Republic have developed extraordinarily successful in the past 18 months. Today it maintains normal diplomatic relations with more than 80 countries ; negotiations on normalizing relations are under way with the governments of further countries. It can be stated that the GDR has taken a successful step towards complete international equality of rights, towards full participation in international life on a basis of equality. The worldwide struggle which the GDR, aided by its socialist allies and progressive forces throughout the world, has conducted for two decades against policy of discrimination and blockade is being brought to a successful conclusion.

That is a historically significant development. It has several causes which are interlaced with each other and which supplement each other.

1. In general, this course of events is one aspect of the indisputable change in the international situation. The shift in the balance of power can be seen from economic balance-sheets as well as from political and juridical developments. They prove that the peace strategy of the socialist countries possesses an attractiveness from which western governments can escape only with difficulty. In this connection reference need only be made to the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic's with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, the four-power declaration in support of an application for UN membership to be filled by the GDR and the FRG and finally the agreements and treaties signed between theGDR and the FRG.

2. The GDR will never forget the broad and indefatigable support it has received at all times from the Soviet Union and the other allied countries. The policy formulated by the Eighth Congress of the SED according to which the GDR is to remain firmly entrenched in the community of socialist states while keeping its distance from the FRG is bearing its fruit. It made it clear to the whole world that all hope of changing the *status quo* to the disadvantage of the GDR is no more than an illusion.

3. At the same time this foreign policy balance sheet is a result of the efforts made by working people in the GDR for the consolidation, stability and dynamic development of the state and economy. That makes the GDR an attractive partner in the eyes of other countries.

The normalization of relations with the GDR, the abandonment of the hostile, unsuitable and unrealistic doctrine of the international isolation of the GDR will have a salutary effect on the international atmosphere. The GDR cooperates constructively and in full equality in the talks and consultations on the preparations for the European security conference. The same is true of the meetings held in Vienna and of its collaboration in the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

Hence the GDR is now in a position to make a more effective contribution to the international process of relaxation of tension. It is possible for it to become more actively involved in the development of relations of peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist countries. After its breakthrough towards participation on a basis of equality in international life has taken place in a period of reduced tensions on our continent and of the dismantling of the cold war, it now makes a constructive contribution of its own to the further promotion of this process.

This statement is true both of its participation in multilateral meetings and of the way it is organizing its bilateral relations.

With reference to the establishment and development of relations with West European countries it has never considered such relations as an end in itself nor does it do so today. It never considered the normalizing of relations as a mere question of prestige or international status. The normalization of relations with it is at least as much in the interest of the partner as in the interest of the GDR.

That is quite generally true, because naturally the re-cognition of the GDR, its territorial integrity and sovereign equality is an unrenounceable prerequisite for European relaxation and security. How could detente and security be conceivable as long as an attempt was being made to isolate a state in the heart of Europe and exclude it from the relaxation of tension ? This process of detente on our continent, from which all countries derive profit, can now take place with less difficulty and more fruitfully.

But that also holds good of bilateral relations. In establishing bilateral relations with West European countries the GDR strives to obtain recognition for the principles of peaceful coexistence. The GDR is interested in collaborating in the interest of peace, in defining questions of common interest and co-operating on questions of European security, disarmament and the relaxation of tension.

If that proves to be advantageous for both sides the GDR will also seek closer cooperation on economic questions, on problems of transport, science and technology and other fields. The GDR is also prepared to begin negotiations of all other questions at a suitable time and make agreements based on generally accepted principles of international law.

It must be clear that no one is in a position to talk to the GDR from any other point of view than one of soverign equality. There has been no lack of attempts even in the process of normalizing relations with the GDR to undermine the sovereignty of the GDR in one respect or another. All these experiments, which have their roots in the epoch of the cold war, have been doomed to failure. The GDR does not permit its sovereignty to be encroached upon, just as, for its part, it respects the sovereign rights of all other countries.

On this basis the GDR is ready to develop mutually advantageous relations. The months lying ahead will certainly supply new and impressive proof of the benefits which all countries of Europe will derive from the full inclusion of the GDR in international life.

Men behind the Lines
You can also fight the battle

It is not given to everyone to be a Jawan to fight the war and defend the borders of our country. But it is given to everyone to be a true citizen to fight the battle on the home front by avoiding hoarding and bringing down the price line. Everyone of us can be of use to the Nation by mobilising country's resources and making them available for defence and development. The banks provide the necessary economic strength and stability.

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# YOUTH : A Self - Portrait

**Bronistaw Gotebiowski**

In November 1971, on the initiative of sociology of culture Section of Warsaw University's Institute of Sociology and in cooperation with Polish Radio and TV's Public Opinion Research Centre, and extensive questionnaire entitled 'Young People Tell About Themselves and their Aspirations' was conducted with a representative sample of young people between the ages of 16 and 29. In 1971-72 interesting material, in the form of memoirs, was also gathered, mainly among the working class and young people working in jobs requiring higher qualifications, both technical and white collar. This material adds an extra Dimension to the analysis arising from the date contained in the questionnaires, by illustrating those elements of youths's consciousness and attitudes which cannot be studied by quantitative methods.

It may be taken as proved that the young generation of Poles, born and brought up after the Second World War, shows features distinguishing its members from their parents' generation, although at the same time it shows a natural link with the traditions and aims of the older generation and feels itself to be its continuator.

Awareness of the differences in conditions and in the opportunities available to youth in the immediate postwar period in comparison with the present, looms large in the questionnaire and other material. Nearly 89 per cent of those questioned acknowledged the material conditions of young people now as better than in the years immediately after the war, only 1.2 per cent as worse and 4 5 per cent as similar. The chances of advancement for young people are considered to be greater by over 59 per cent of those questioned; over 21 per cent assess them as similar, and 9 per cent as worse. Nearly 68 per cent consider that young people nowadays have greater independence in deciding about their own affairs. Over 68 per cent of those questioned also consider that the field of opportunities for welfare work by young people is at present wider.

Naturally enough, material and career problems stand in the forefront of this generation's consciousness as creating the greatest difficulties facing young people. Among the answers to the question 'What are the main difficulties and problems encountered by young people to day,' the most frequent were the following : housing difficulties (73 per cent), difficulty in getting to achosen school or to university (62 per cent), difficulties in finding the right kind of work (54 per cent), various material problems and not having money of one's own (48 per cent). Problems concerning ideology, politics, culture and human relations are indicated as being the most important with considerably less frequency; uncertainty as to what is right and what is wrong in social and one's personal life (nearly 30 per cent), lack of amusements and opportunities of worthwhile leisure pursuits (nearly 26 per cent), a difficult start at work (over 24 per cent), hampering of independence by the older generation (nearly 24 per cent). lack of understanding and complain on the part of parents, teachers etc. (over 23 per cent), too small a share for youth in governing the country (over 21 per cent), exhaustion as a result of work or study (nearly 18 per cent), lack of opportunity to display one's talents, for people between 16 and 19 consider ideological and political problems to be most important less frequently than their older colleagues between 24 and 29. Thus, over 24 per cent of teenagers give the problem of uncertainty as to what is right and what is wrong in social and in one's personal life, as opposed to nearly 33 per cent of the 24-29 age group. Nearly 14 per cent of teenagers complain of lack of opportunities to display their talents and nearly 11 per cent of the lack of some inspiring idea, while in the 24-29 age group the corresponding figures are over 18 and over 16 per cent respectively.

In the questionnaire the risk was taken of putting a direct question on this subject, worded as follows : 'It is often said that modern youth is without an ideology, that it has no higher aims which matter to it. What do you think of this ?' A fairly large proportion of the young people questioned consider this to be ture, but only in part; this proportion comes to nearly 64 percent of all those questioned.

An analysis of the factors which go to make up the phenomenon of lack of ideology among the young points to specific gaps in the political education and consciousness of youth. But there are also two further points to be made. Many of those who considered young people to be 'partly lacking in ideology' wanted to draw attention to the fact that this phenomenon is to be found among the youngest members of the present generation as well as to stress the waning in this generation of the traditional concept of ideology as something directly connected with the struggle, for the principles of socialism against the enemies who openly attack it, and so forth.

Included in the questionnaire was the question : 'What features do you appreciate most in people ?' The following features were most frequently chosen : fairness, honesty, diligence, knowledge dependability, conscientiousness, benevolence towards others and a sensible approach to life.

Young people, asked about the chief bad phenomena which hinder progress in the life of our country, mentioned the following in their answers; waste and lack of respect for public property (47 per cent), bureaucracy (35.4 per cent), favouritism and back-scratching (30.5 per cent), drunkenness (26 per cent), stifling of criticism (23 per cent), lack of initiative, passivity, indifference (22 per cent), poor work (18 per cent), lack of knowledge on the part of people in authority (17 per cent). At the same time the youngest respondents tend more to expose negative personal features (*e.g.* drunkenness, poor work, not having the courage of one's own opinion, laziness, etc), while older respondents tend to draw attention more to social factors (waste, bureaucracy, favouritism and backscratching, suppression of criticism, careerism, etc.).

There is also a significant direct connection between the choice of the most important tasks facing the country and the answers to the question : 'Please choose from among the goals considered by you as important, three which you consider as the most important in your personal life ?' The young people clearly favour the latter : a successful family life (52.5 per cent), high earnings (nearly 40 per cent), security (over 30 per cent), a great and reciprocated love (nearly 30 per cent). interesting work (27.5 per cent), a clear conscience (25.5 per cent).

This is, in my opinion, a very positive tendency, and may constitute a starting point for the fashioning of socialist interpersonal relations, of a new model of the family, of principles of love, friendship and comradeship.

The most essential conclusion arising from an analysis of young people's opinions about their goals in life, concerns the harmonious linking of the tasks and goals facing the country with their own aspirations through work, further education and raising the standard of living, not just for the sake of earning more, but to guarantee a 'happy family', to experience love, and as answers to other questions indicate, also to win friends, authority and prestige in ones work and in society at large.

About 38 per cent of employed people questioned derive full satisfaction from their work, about 31 per cent treat their work exclusively as a means to an end (earning money), while 26 per cent consider their work as a necessity or even a curse, it must be stated that the level of realization of the aspiration to do a good job well is still too low in this generation.

The following question was also put : 'Is proper use made of your qualifications at work ?' Here are the results : my qualifications are adequately made use of (45 per cent) ; the work I do, does not require special training (20 per cent) : my qualifications are not adequately made use of (12 per cent) ; I am not doing the job for which I am qualified (9.6 per cent) ; I have no opinion on the subject (6 per cent) ; I have set tasks in excess of my qualifications (5 per cent).

Most striking is the excessively low proportion, not more than 46 per cent, of those who consider that their qualifications are adequately made use of. In the case of 26 per cent of respondents, there exists a genuine dissatisfaction, not, with the lack of qualifications, but with the fact that they are badly or inadequately made use of (including nearly 10 per cent whose professional work does not correspond to qualifications acquired).

The young generation is aware of the fact that the entry of a society which until recently was retarded in its economic development into the period of the scientific and technological revolution is not easy and that it can only be guaranteed by the socialist system. It is a generation of young people which is in the process of accepting naturally the long-term ideas of socialism as its own. It aspires to a professional and family ideal of life, to be achieved through as universal as possible a release of work that is creative, desired, loved, and yields both personal satisfaction and social benefit. These aims constitute the guiding light of the activity of the leading force in society—the Polish United Workers Party—which at the Central Committee plenum held at the end of November 1972 laid down the main guidelines for action on the part of the state and the whole educational establishment concerning youth.

It is a question of creating in the young generation, which is very numerous and intellectually and biologically vigorous the social and economic foundations for realizing the most widespread possible release of its creative work in the period of its maturity. Society as a whole is beginning to realize that the role of youth is not to be exaggerated or underestimated. Both the deification and the slighting of the youth of a large part of society—a period in which new elements of culture and new customs are hatched—are undesirable. The first tendency might lead to the infantilization of social life and culture, while the second would lead to social and culture, conservatism.

Polish society wants to shape the members of its young generation into dynamic continuators of its previous achievements as well as conscious innovators of cultural changes.

The main problem, and at the same time great opportunity, of this young generation is its decisive share in carrying out a transformation of the Polish nation's social psychology by developing in a specific direction. The essence of this desirable change consists in the transformation of the attitude and psychology of struggle for an independent Poland, for its place on the map of Europe, for a Poland of social justice, into an attitude and psychology of struggle for the modernity of socialist Poland and its place in the first ten economically most developed countries of Europe.

# Cuba and Latin America before the attack on Moncada Fortress

*Silvio J. Mendiandua*

When a young lawyer, Fidel Castro, attacked the Moncada Fortress in Oriente province in Cuba on July 26, 1953, only a few knew that this action would pave the way to the liberation of Latin America and become one of the world's most important events.

Latin America passed through the decade of the fifties under very inauspicious circumstances.

The U.S. economy, which had a national production of 91.1 billion dollers on the eve of the World War II, was favoured by the conflict. National production was 213 billion in 1945 and *per capita* income had increased from 695 dollars in 1939 to 1526 in 1945. The United States also came out of the war sufficiently strong, economically, politically and militarily, to extend its capital and political concepts to the rest of the world.

However, the creation of the socialist camp in Europe in 1946 and the triumph of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 limited the U. S. sphere of influence in Europe and Asia. Thus, the United States began to apply a tactical variant of a policy that had been structured throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, a tactic that had found ideological expression in the Monroe Doctrine and the slogan "America for Americans".

The Military Pact of Rio de Janerio in 1947 and the Bogota agreements of 1948 which created the Organisation of American States, were all part of U. S. global strategy which included the Clayton, Marshall and Truslow plans inspired by the "cold war" policy formulated by President Harry Truman in 1947.

The creation of a Latin American hemispheric block gave the United States politico-economic prerogatives more efficient than the ones they were enjoying in the rest of the world. In essence, the Truman Doctrine attempted to extend U. S. domination to Asia, Africa and Latin America and to replace the hard-line policy by one of conciliation and peaceful negotiation.

Geographic nearness, historical ties and the liquidation of the Latin American ideal by pan-americanism allowed the U. S. to turn Latin America into a backyard, ideal for its objectives.

U. S. financiers accumulated in Latin America 75 percent of their overseas investments. Through them they controlled 25 percent of industrial production in the area and monopolized 50 percent of its trade, in addition to extracting the power and mineral resources needed for their industries.

It is calculated that during the 1945-61 period, the United States extracted some 40000 million dollars from Latin America in profits which means that 80 percent of the earnings from direct investments returned to the United States after covering development costs.

On the other hand, Latin America was flooded with military bases, onerous pact and *de facto* governments. The political price the people had to pay was submission to Washington and the economic price was satellization and underdevelopment. The Latin American countries saw how the "Good Neighbour" policy sponsored by Franklyn Delano Roosevelt before World War II shed its pacific shell to become once again the policy of the "Big Stick".

The new era, marked by the development of atomic bomb, brought Latin America an ostensible and continuous loss of its revolutionary values and growing control by U. S. imperialism

The revolutionary sparks that lit the continent's skies in the thirties and forties seems to have died down for ever.

The decade of the fifties began under the shadow of the crushing of the popular insurrection headed by Eliecer Gaytan in Bagota in 1948, and a wave of military coups.

Marcos Perez Jimenez in Venezuela (1952), Fulgencio Batista in Cuba (1952), Francois Duvalier in Haiti (1957), Carlos Castillo Armas in Guatemala (1954) and Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in Colombia (1953) all followed the hard-line policy traced out by the Pentagon and the White House.

Meanwhile, in one of Cuba's prisons, there was a 27 year old lawyer, unknown to the White House, the rebel Fidel Castro.

Some five years earlier in Cuba, the aggressive policy of the powerful northern neighbour had sunk the reformist attempts of the governments of Roman Grau San Martin (1944-50) and Carlos Prio Socarras (1950-52) which degenerated into an anarchic situation of corruption and violence.

The moral and political breakdown of those governments created in the people a desire to make civic life decent and to put the country on a path of change. Both governments played into the hands of the reactionaries by introducing anti-communist policies characterized by armed assualts on the trade unions and the assassination of workers' leaders such as Aracelio Iglesias (a port worker) and Jesus Menendez (a sugar worker). Cuba's political and economic subjugation was sealed on March when the Prio government signed a bilateral agreement on Mutual for Defence of the Western Hemisphere with the U. S. government. However, for the Pentagon, the best gaurantee was the existence of strong military governments which would contain popular demands, particularly in Cuba after the development of the people's movement headed by the leader of the Orthodox Party, Eduardo R. Chibas.

The military coup of March 10, led by a military man of obscure origins, Fulgencio Batista, was the reply which fitted into the scheme drawn up for the continent.

Among the people, the coup raised political consciousness and aroused strong anti-imperialist sentiments. The coup convulsed political circles and demanded an end to the ambivalent positions of the traditional politicians. Because of the lack of real political leadership, a new group of young people came forth to continue the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban people. The first two years of the fifties represented decades in the radicalization of a large sector of the youth. From the ranks of the popular movement headed by Chibas, whose slogan was "Honesty before money", cane groups of workers, professionals, peasants and students who in 1953, just 100 years after the birth of the Apostle, Jose Marti, took up his ideas and started an innovating movement called "Generation of the Centenary", led by Fidel Castro.

Similarly from the intransigent anti-imperialist struggle developed among the working class and the peasantry by marxist groups that arose in 1925 with creation of the first Cuban Communist Party, cane leaders who channeled these struggles into revolutionary courses.

The impact of Moncada attack, organised by Fidel Castro as a revolutionary reply to March 10th, nurtured the revolutionary current which gave birth to the Cuban Revolution.

The reply of the anti-imperialists was unanimous and the impact convulsed the continent, creating new prospects for revolution.

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 broke the monolithic bloc created by the White House and re-established the Latin-American ideal of Bolivar and Marti. A little more than a decade latter, several Latin American countries, through different paths, are leading their people along the same road and solid revolutionary prospects have opened up south of the Rio Grande.

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capitalist states had counted on in enforcing these limitations. This is confirmed by numerous examples which, in particular, were brought to light at the conference in Washington, too.

Thus, for instance, at one time the United States practically banned the export of machines and equipment to the USSR completely. In many types of machines and equipment the Soviet Union not only meets its demands now on the basis of its own inner production, but has developed into a major world exporter of these products. The export of such commodities as copper, diamonds and many other goods was also prohibited to the Soviet Union. In In our times the Soviet Union not only meets its own demands in copper, but exports it to industrially—developed capitalist countries. The USSR has also become a major exporter of diamonds, including industrial diamonds.

Due to the successess scored in the economic development of the Soviet Union and its peaceloving foreign policy it was already at the end of the fifties and the beginning of thesivties that the overwhelming majority of the developed capitalist countries, despite the resistance put up by the United States not only began developing normal trade with the Soviet Union, but started promoting the develoament of scientific and technological cooperation and cooperation in the sphere of currency and financial matters, particularly by granting the Soviet Union long-term credits on mutually profitable terms for ten-fifteen years. This means that in distinction from the majority of industrial capitalist countries the United States was in essence isolated from the market of the USSR and the other socialist countries in the duration of the past decade.

# KIM IL SUNG

## PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF KOREA,
## THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADER OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE OF KOREA.

# Letter to Parliaments and Governments of All Countries of the World

*Correspondent*

**The Second Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has discussed the question of terminating the intervention of foreign countries in their internal affairs for the purpose of expediting independent and peaceful national reunification and sends this letter to the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world.**

Rejecting foreign intervention in Korea's domestic affairs and achieving independent and peaceful reunification constitutes a fundamental question affecting the prosperity of the fatherland and the future destiny of the nation. It is also a very important question having direct bearing on peace in Asia and the world.

Proceeding from the lofty desire to shape the destiny of the nation by themselves and contribute to the cause of world peace the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, have since long time ago advanced various reasonable proposals on the peaceful reunification of the country by the efforts of the Koreans themselves without outside intervention and bent all sincere efforts to carry them out.

The struggle of the Korean people for peaceful reunification took an epochal turn particularly after Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, declared his historic speech on August 6, 1971 that we had a readiness to discuss at any time the question of national reunification with the present ruling party and all the other political parties, all social organization and individual personages in south Korea. At the time the general international situation was rapidly changing further in favour of the people's cause of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress and the voices demanding peaceful reunification were rising higher than ever before among the south Korean people.

Policy of peaceful reunification won the unanimous support not only of the Korean people but also of the broad world public circles. The south Korean authorities who had been dead set against any contacts between the north and the south also accepted our proposal, with the result that talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross societies opened in September 1971 and the north-south high-level talks are in progress from last year.

In the course of this, the two sides published the north-south joint statement whose keynote is the three principles—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, reached an agreement as to working with united efforts in all fields and formed the North-South Co-ordination Commission, a joint national body. This has opened a bright prospect before the nation's efforts at peaceful reunification.

All the peace-loving people of the world warmly welcomed and supported the realization of these contacts and dialogue between north and south Korea which had remained separated for 27 years. They regarded it as a great event conforming to the trend of the times and the interest of peace.

North Korean Government advanced a number of practical questions for the implementation of the agreed points specified in the north-south joint statement. This came from a desire not to fall short of the wishes of the entire Korean people and the expectations of the world people but to make the dialogue between the north and the south a dialogue for reunification and a dialogue for unity.

North Korea proposed to south Korean to take concrete steps for many-sided collaboration between the north and the south in all spheres such as politics, economy, culture, military affairs and diplomacy in conformity with the spirit of the north-south joint statement.

In particular, a five-point propssal was made to stop armament reinforcement and arms race, to make all foreign troops withdraw from south Korea, to scale down the armies to 100,000 men or less each, to discontinue the introduction of weapons and war supplies from abroad, and to conclude a peace agreement between the north and the south—considering that the relaxation of the existing tension and the removal of military confrontation in the country are a prerequisite to the removal of the long-standing misunderstanding and mistrust between the north and the south, the creation of a climate of trust and the guarantee of peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification.

All these proposals embody the consistent policy of national reunification of the Government of the D. P. R. K. to suit the new historic condition where the north-south dialgoue is going on. They are the most just proposals for solving the question of reunification in full accord with the will of our nation and the interest of peace and the most fair and reasonable proposals acceptable to anyone who wants reunification.

But, none of these proposals has yet been realized because the United States is still occupying south Korea, wields its controlling position to egg the south Korean authorities on to make a military showdown and hinders the progress of the dialogue.

The United States threw cold water on the north-south dialogue from the outset in an attempt to carry out its aggressive design in Korea by making Koreans fight each other in accordance with the "Nixon doctrine," perpetuate the division of our country through the creation of "two Koreas" and keep south Korea as its colony and military base.

The U.S. Government authorities have openly stated that, although the dialogue is in progress between north and south Korea, they "have no plan to withdraw the U. S. forces." Moreover, they declared that they should help the south Korean side so that it could hold a "stronger position" in the dialogue. They gave repeated assurances that they would fulfil the "ROK-U.S. defence commitments" and go ahead with the "programme for modernization of the ROK army" and are supplying south Korea with various new-type weapons and military equipment and instigating the south Karean authorities to step up war preparations.

In recent days, the U. S. forces stationed in south Korea have staged large-scale provocative military exercises designed for offensive, not for defensive, jointly with the south Korean army and incessantly perpetrated military reconnaissance activities, thereby straining the stituation.

This shows that the real danger of war in Korea comes not from the threat of "southward invasion" as alleged by the United States and the south Korean authorities. but from the threat of their northward invasion.

Keeping peace with such obstructive manoeuvre of the United States, the south Korean authorities say good words when they sit face with DPRK for talks, but, after going back, they break their words and reject realistic proposals for materializing the points of mutual agreement under the plea of "premature."

Employing the delaying tactics, they use the dialogue merely as a means of preparing for a war and reinforcing their ruling system They cry for confrontation and competition advocated by the U.S. authorities, instead of unity and collaboration between the north and the south which we are demanding. They seek war and split, not peace and peaceful unification.

The United States is trying to justify with the "U. N. resoluations" its acts of keeping its army stationed in south Korea, of pursuing a neo-colonial enslavement policy there and of obstructing the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Some time ago, the United States made the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" shield as "fair democratic elections" the socalled "election of deputies to the national conference for unification" and "national assembly election" which were held in south Korea by threat of the bayonet and through swindle and fraud under the "extraordinary martial law" proclaimed in addition to the "emergency state."

Besides, the United States is drawing the Japanese reactionary forces into the execution of its aggressive policy toward Korea.

All the facts show that unless the intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Korea is brought to an end, it is impossible to further advance the dialogue between north and south Korea and achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

In this connection, the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea calls upon the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world to pay deep attention to the present developments in Korea and render an active help to removing the obstacles to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

For the termination of the intervention of the foreign countries in the internal affairs of the country, first of all the U. S. forces must get out of south Korea and the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" be dissolved.

Today the U.S. forces have no pretext whatsover to stay on in south Korea any longer.

The U.S. forces occupation of south Korea itself was illegal. Their stay in south Korea up to now also totally contravens the Korean Armistice Agreement which envisages the withdrawal of all the foreign troops. At present there are no foreign troops in the northern half of the Republic.

The United States claims that the continued presence of its forces in south Korea is for "protection" of south Korea from "southward invasion." But this "protection" is only a prefext for covering up its intervention in the internal affairs of the country and its aggressive acts against it.

Such pretext can never work especially after the Government of the D. P. R. K. stated more than once that it has no intention to "invade the south" and the two sides solemnly declared to the people at home and abroad through the north-south joint statement that they would not fight each other.

If the United States truly hopes for peaceful solution of the Korean question, is there any reason why it should deliberately maintain the state of confrontation with us in spite of our consistent call for the peaceful reunification of the country? The United States must withdraw its troops from south Korea and stop such acts as shipping weapons and combat equipment into south Korea, expanding military bases and staging military exercises there.

DPRK is ready to reduce the strength of its army to 200,000 or less for themselves. if only the U.S. troops pull out of south Korea.

The United States is trying to justify its intervention in the internal affairs of the country on the strength of the "U.N. resolutions." In the light of this, to remove the obstacles to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, it is also necessary for the United Nations to pay due attention to this and adopt a just policy on the Korean question.

This year the U N. General Assembly should take steps to take the cap of the "U. N. forces" off the heads of the U. S. troops stationed in south Korea, make them withdraw and disband the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and that the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must certainly be invited to the United Nations when a question on Korea is discussed there.

Availing of this opportunity, DPRK expresses the hope that the nations participating in the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," too, will contribute to removing the obstacles to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea by withdrawing from this "commission" following the just and determined action of Chile and Pakistan or ignoring its operation, so the "commission" may be dissolved of itself, or by having it dissolved by a U. N. resolution.

It is the consistent policy of DPRK to develop relations with all countries of the world which are friendly to them and consider it necessary for all the countries, whether participants in the Korean war or not, to pay due attention to the just solution of the Korean question.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will in the future, too, set store by the already started north-south dialogue and do everything in its power to ensure its smooth progress and to accelerate the independent, peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

It is maintained that the five-point proposal by the DPRK made as an immediate step toward easing tension in the country and removing the state of military confrontation between the north and the south should be realized at the earliest possible date. It calls for stopping armament reinforcement and arms race, making all foreign troops withdraw, reducing army strength and armaments, discontinuing the introduction of weapons from foreign countries and concluding a peace agreement.

Many-sided collaboration between the north and the south should be realized without delay in all spheres such as politics, military affairs, economy, culture and diplomacy for the purpose of rejoining the severed national ties between the north and the south, assuring a a unified development of the country, stabilizing and improving the people's livelihood and promoting the cause of national reunification.

Furthermore dialogue and negotiations should be conducted extensively on a democratic basis with the participation of political parties, social organizations and personages of all circles of the north and the south by concerted efforts to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the fatherland and that the cause of the country's peaceful reunification should be won by the united strength of the whole nation.

It is hoped that the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world will turn to account all opportunities and possibilities and employ various forms and ways to extend their active support to the programme of national reunification and express firmer solidarity with the sacred struggle of the Korean people for its materialization.

If the U.S. troops are withdrawn from south Korea and the intervention of outside forces in the internal affairs of the country is brought to an end by the joint struggle of the Korean people and the world people, the danger of war will be dispelled in Korea and the dialogue accelerated, the north-south relations radically improved and the question of the country's reunification smoothly solved in a peaceful way on the principle of national self-determination.

The Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses the conviction that your Parliament and Government will pay deep attention to the following letter and take appropriate positive measures.

## Letter to the Congress of the United States

The Second Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has discussed the question of terminating foreign intervention in our internal affairs with the aim of accelerating the independent, peaceful reunification of our country and sends this letters to both the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

As a result of the consistent efforts made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent, peaceful national reunification, a dialogue started between north and south Korea in September, 1971.

Later, both sides held high-level talks, announced a joint statement whose keynote is the three principles—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity—and formed a North-South Co-ordination Commission as a joint set up to implement the agreed principles.

This was an epoch-making event that altered the state of freeze between the north and the south separted from each other for many years and opened up a new phase for peaceful reunification.

After the announcement of the north-south joint statement we proposed, as a concrete step toward the implementation of the agreements between both sides, to realize collaboration between the north and the south in all fields of politics, enonomy, culture, military and diplomatic affairs and in particular, made a five-point proposal for eliminating the present state of military confrontation, that is, the stopping of armament reinforcement and arms race, the withdrawl of foreign troops, the reduction of army strength, the discontinuance of the introduction of weapons from foreign countries and the conclusion of a peace agreement the most urgent problems in dispelling misunderstanding and distrust and creating an atmosphere of trust between both sides.

However, the south Korean authorities have not made a due response to our peaceable initiative which accords with the desire of all the Korean people, and the dialogue between the north and the south has made no further progress at the stage in which the agreements between both sides should be put into practice.

Facts show that this state of affairs is mainly due to the policies of the U. S. Government authorities who do not want to see Korea reunified peacefully by the Korean people themselves.

The U.S. Government authorites welcomed the north-south dialogue in words, but in deeds they have obstructed it from the outset, throwing cold water on it. They have instigated the south Korean authorities to take the "position of strength" in negotiation with us, declaring that, although the north-south dialogue is in progress, they would keep their troops in south Korea and "push ahead the modernization programme" for the south Korean army.

Last year, for instance, the United States gave the greatest amount of military "aid" to south Korea, supplied it with large quanities of modern weapons and military equipment, expanded military bases, made incessant military provocations and staged ceaseless military exercises. In this way it stepped up war preparations and further encouraged the south Korean authorities to military confrontation with us.

This position and attitude of the U S. Government toward Korea go against the desire of all the Korean people to reunify their country peacefully and run counter to the current trend to the relaxation of tension and peace.

At a time when north and south Korea hold dialogue and the Koreans endeavour to solve their problems peacefully for themselves, why are the U. S. Government authorities intervening in and obstructing it ?

If the United States should truly hope for the peaceful solution of the Korean question and desire peace in the Far East and the Pacific region, it would have no need to keep its troops in south Korea any longer and deliberately maintain military confrontation with us who advocate peaceful reunification.

We consider that it is high time for the Uuited States to change its policy in the light of the present changed situation, withdraw its troops from South Korea and take a measure to dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," thereby removing the obstacles to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The United States should discontinue military "aid" and the supply of weapons and military equipment to south Korea, stop armaments expansion and war exercises in south Korea and desist from encouraging the south Korean authorities with military support for the purpose of making Koreans fight Koreans.

If the U. S. Govrnment authorities take such steps, war danger will be removed in Korea and the Korean people will certainly achieve the peaceful reunification of their country by themselves.

Considering that this will conform with the interests of the peoples of both Korea and the United States and fully accord with the interests of peace, the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea express the hope that the U. S. Congress will pay serious attention to our letter and adopt relevant positive measures.

# Himachal Poised for a Quick Break-Through

On the occtasion of the Silver Jubilee of Himachal Pradesh on April 15, 1973, Mr. S. Chakravarty, the Governor of the State, reassuringly stated in his message that—

"These years have not only seen Himachal Pradesh grow from a small Chief Commissioner's province to a full fledged State, but have also witnessed remarkable all-round progress. With a well-developed infrastructure, particularly in roads, and rapid development in other related fields, our State is poised for a quick break-through on the economic front". And, rightly it has been observed by the Chief Minister of state, Dr. Y. S. Parmer, referring to the impressive record and programme that "Himachal has completed 25 years of its eventful existence, showing a new hope to hill people all over India that mountains are not destined to be poor. On the other hand, they have the resources which if exploited imaginatively can not only enrich them but also add to the national prosperity."

Indeed, since its formation in 1948 by bringing together 31 petty Princely States in the Himalayan region of India at different levels of administrative efficiency and economic developments, a very remarkable progress with ever-widening scopes for further and greater development and progress has been made so far by the State of Himachal Pradesh. Rightly it is being considered as a pioneer in the field of development of hill areas in the country. Since its formation its history is a history of onward march ever.

It evolved out of a Chief Commissioner's Province (1948-62), a part 'C' State (1952-56) and a Union Territory (1956-71) to a full-fledged state when Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi declared it as a full fledged State of the Union of India on January 25, 1971.

In respect of *per capita* income Himachal Pradesh that was once the most backward area now ranks as fifth State in India. And it is note worthy that during the five years (1966-70) when there was an increase of 3.4 per cent in *per capita* income in the country, Himachal had an increase of 3.8 percent.

On the farm front it has been steadily advancing towards self-sufficiency in food and set to wipe out the centuries-old food deficit by March 31, 1974. In horticulture there has been a remarkable progress and as such Himachal is now known as the Apple State of India. It is expected that during current plan period fruit production in the State is likely to rise by 65 per cent to reach the 2.4 lakh tonne target.

In roads, during the 25 years period, there has been an increase from 228 kms. to 11,994 kms.

In rural electrification, Himachal has now nearly 4,035 electrified villages, while in 1948 it had only 10 electrified villages. And it is expected that by the end of 5th Plan 70 per cent population of the State would have electrified homes.

In education, the number of institutions has risen from 541 to 5,012.

In public health, the number of institutions has risen from just one dozen Medical and Public Health institutions in 1948 to 657 Hospitals, Dispensaries and Public Health Centres, at present.

In the field of industries too, considerable progress has been made. According to the Chief Minister, Dr. Y. S. Parmer "A 200-ton-per-day newsprint plant is to be set up in the State. With an investment of Rs. 30 crores, a cement factory is coming up and a terpene complex is on the way. Already, rosin and turpentine industry has expanded rapidly and the Nahan Foundary has changed its production schemes. Bilashpur has another modern plant for Rosin and Turpentine. There are today 6.000 industrial concerns in the State." Even from this very brief account, it appears that a good beginning has been made in the industrialisation of the State, especially in the forest-based industries where forests covering 37 per cent of the total land area form the backbone of the economy.

Further, at a time when there is an acute power shortage, it is heartening to note that Himachal has made a beginning to utilise its hydel potential of 85 lakhs kws (roughly 20 per cent of National hydel potential). Already, the 45-MW Bassi Project has been commissioned and the 60-MW Giri Project is under construction.

The State is tremendously rich in potentials of tourism, especially since when through reorganisation of Punjab, Kulu, Manali, Kangra, Dharamsala, Simla, Kasauli, Chail and Dalhousie came over to Himachal Pradesh. The State with its verdant valleys, emerald meadows, high peaks, spas which delight and cure, lush green forests offering opportunities both for big and small game, lakes, snows, rivers, temples, fair, and festivals and scopes for boating, trout-fishing golfing, skiing and trekking and mountaineering holds various attractions for tourists. Starting from the fag end of the Second Five Year Plan, and forging ahead with the construction of tourist bungalows at Paonta Shahib, Bilashpur, and an inn at Naina Devi during the Third Five Year Plan period, there has been a fast development of tourism during the Fourth Five Year Plan period with an investment of about Rs. 1 crore. And, tourism is expected to be developed on a grand scale during the Fifth Five Year Plan period when there is going to be an outlay of the order of Rs. 8 crores for the purpose.

Still the scope for utilisation of resources and development of potentials remains immense.

The State has various soil zones suitable for raising various crops, cereals, vegetables, fruits etc. As for an instance, somewhere table potatoes, somewhere seed potatoes may be grown profitably. According to the "Techno-Economic Survey of Himachal Pradesh", December 1961, by N.C.A.E.R—"Already two-thirds of potato output is for export for seed purposes, meeting about 20 per cent of the seed requirements of country." Generally, the N.C.A.E.R. found that "Himachal fruits, seeds and vegetables have wide market and the potential market is very large."

At different altitudes, Himachal has different categories of fruits. It has sub-tropical fruits at altitudes 1,500 to 3,000 feet, stonefruits at altitudes 3,000 to 6,000 feet, pome fruits at altitudes 6,000 to 8,000 feet, and, dry fruits at altitudes 6,000 to 9,000 feet. So, according to the Techno-Economic Survey of Himachal Pradesh "The scope for horticultural development in Himachal Pradesh is immense."

Moreover, with its wide range of altitudes and agro-climatic conditions, animal husbandry may be developed to a great extent provided necessary breeding firms and marketing, processing and grading facilities are there. Poultry and sericulture too have good scopes for development.

The major minerals of the State are salt, slate, limestone, iron ore, pyrites, mica, gypsum and copper. Of them only salt and roofing slates were found to be quarried in 1961 by the N.C.A.E.R.

Though a commendable beginning in utilisation of the forests covering 37 per cent of the total land area has been made, there is still much to be done.

And in the case of hydel projects, though some already have been constructed or are under construction on the Sutlej, the Beas and the Yamuna basins, still there is much to be done to utilise the hydel potential of the State fully.

Now with a well-developed infrastructure, particularly in modern roads and transport systems when commerce is moving fast without having to rely on slow transportation by headloads and pack-animals, it may be reasonably expected that the Himachal Pradesh is surely poised for a quick break-through on the economic front.

# Promising Research Coordination

## IN MAHARASHTRA, HARYANA, UTTAR PRADESH, WEST BENGAL, ANDHRA PRADESH AND TAMIL NADU

In one of the four coordination Research Project under the Central Inland Fisheries Research Institute, the project on composite culture of various carps, Indian and exotic that is being carried on at six centres one each in the states of Maharashtra, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, has developed a technique that is simple to apply and may assure a considerable break-through in fish culture. Considerable higher yields may be expected than India's average yield of about 600 kg/ha/yr.

On an experimental scale new techniques developed have raised yields as high as 4,000 kg/ha/yr. And, in six months, at some of the centres the yields are as high as 3,000 kg/ha.

In view of the nutritional requirements of the country the results obtained so far are encouraging.

According to the estimate given in YOJANA of April 1, 1973, "if research results already obtained are extensively applied on a country-wide basis and effective machinery developed on zonal basis for solving regional problems in various facets of inland culture and capture fisheries, the following productions can be obtained :

| Resources | Available area (million hectare) | Rate of production utilising modern techniques (kg/ha/yr). | Obtainable production (million tonnes) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fresh water ponds and tanks...... | 1.6 | 2,000 | 3.20 |
| Brackish water impoundments...... | 2.0 | 500 | 1.00 |
| Fresh water reservoirs and lakes...... | 2.9 | 20 | 0.058 |
| TOTAL : | | | 4.258 |

(*Contd. on page 63*)

# *Filmarquee*

**Dhrubajyoti Roychowdhury**

He died. He had to.

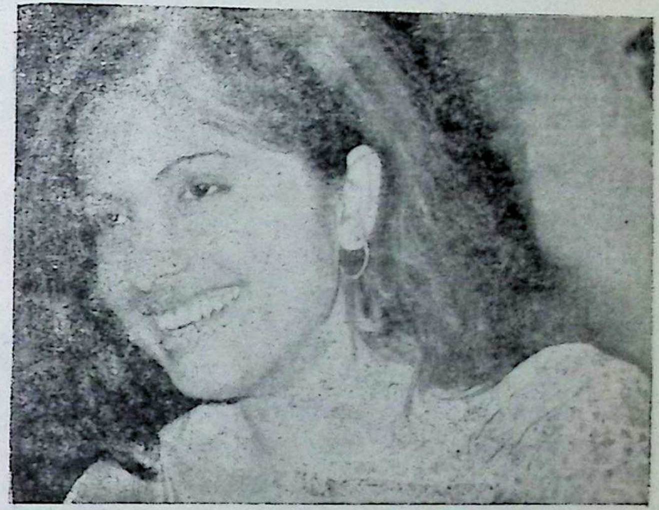
Don't for a moment think that Bombay film industry is poorer minus him. Because he was always a misfit for the Bombay film folks. He did not tune to pot-boilers. He was a lone man. Somebody up there called him a communist, somebody called him a patriot but nobody called him a bastard. And that just about sums up what people thought of him. Whether they liked him or not is another point ; but they, in the rat-race, could not ignore him. They had to respect him.

**Waheeda in "Aag ka Daria"**
**Directed by Mukul Dutt**

The man was Balraj Sahani. Indian Film Industry looks puny without him. Among the midgets his was the figure of a man. Perhaps, the last.

## Marilyn Monroe to Hit Back ?

When a hack spins out something about a movie star it ceratinly aims at the gutter-addict public. The latest example of this is Meenakumari's paperback life in India. But when an author of repute, particularly a controversial one, hammers his typewriter to re-create a movie-star, too of controversial repute, it becomes a news.



**Sumitra What's up ?**

Marilyn Monroe had long been a shocker. Since the days she gave shots for calender nudes down to the long lonely night when she gave herself the fatal sleeping pills she was somebody of whom people all over the globe had been forced to think. So long she kicked around she smelt of atleast worldly success, yet there was a hiatus, and a big one, between her physical and spiritual life. Perhaps she was sick of success. Sick of the mundane.

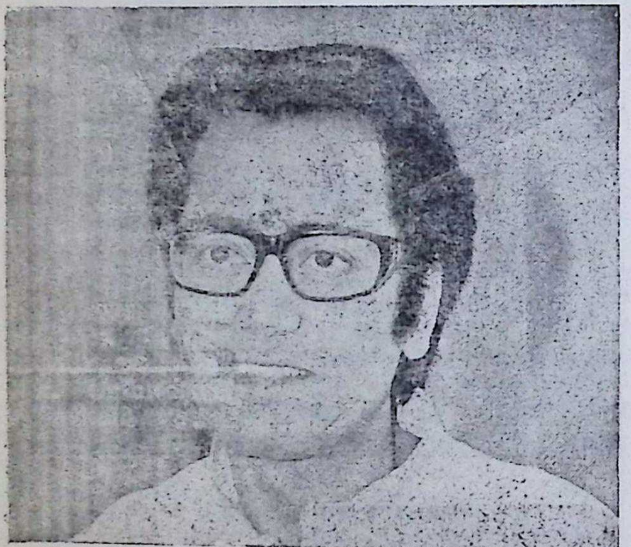
How Monroe felt in those days of agony ? Was she a tortured soul ? Perhaps we will be able to make our own judgement when Norman Mailer finishes his work on Marilyn. For the past few months Mailer is found busy slicing the life of the late movie star. He has been watching her films, looking keenly at her photographs, interviewing the people who knew her and tapping out all the researched observations from his card index and typewriter, He is busy writing an interpretive biography on Marilyn Monroe.

The work is going to be a literary sensation.

## Hitler : Box Office Bonanza

With Paramount Picture's film depicting the last ten days of Hitler's life the international show world has gone besirk over what they call *Hitler Wave.* In Brussels and Vienna, original editions of "Mein Kampf" are doing brisk business. In Paris, a transvestite sex extravaganza, called "Hello, Hitler", continues to titilate the public earning itself a lot of money. From Middle Europe to Middle America there has been a marked revival of interest in the man who flamed the holocaust of the World War II.

Hitler, of course, was always an enigma for the mankind. Since his suicide, countless books and articles with millions and millions of words have tried to analyse something about his career and character—his political philosophy, his sex life, almost every facet of this enigmatic man has intrigued the people the world over.



**Satayajit's find : Dipankar Dey**

According to a *Newsweek* report the current Hitler boom "seems to be something else again, motivated in part by a strange sense of nostalgia for the nerve-shattering days of World War II and in part by an almost macbre fascination with a larger than life figure who dominated a pivotal era in modern history."

While speaking of this "campy, kitschy, rather absurd Hitler nostalgia", Prof. Erwin Scheuch of Cologne University, has remarked about a similar phenomenon that took place about a generation after Napolean's death. He says, "Once the danger is past, even the victims tend to want to have a closer look".

Apart from the kinky Paris show, there is a soft-core ponno spoof in London called "I was Hitler's Chambermaid". Jacked up by the *Hitler Wave*, Paramount has already hopped over the productions of two more Hitler serials.

Britain is almost a jump ahead from these enterprises. With home movies taken by Eva Braun, Hitler's buxom *mon cherry*, a British documentary entitled "Swastika" will release shortly.

Filmed at their Tyrolean retreat in Obserlberg, the footage was only recently discovered tucked away in the Washington archives of the US Marines and Signal Crops. It features Eva in peasant garb, like some Nazi Saira Banu, and even has that lovable duo, Goring and Goebbles, playing harmonicas at a *Bada-din* party. The Fuhrer, as a star, is seen planting kisses on ladies' hands !

Finally, the classic Charlie Chaplin spoof of Hitler, "The Great Dictator", is currently picking a record crowd from all over Germany. Bavarian theatres, however, don't show much of an interest for screening "The Great Dictator". They think the pic is insulting for Hitler's birth-place. But most of the German hausfrau say that if the film had been shown in Germany before it would have been impossible for Hitler to come to power.

The spoofery suggests that Fuhrer still excites and fascinates us.

## Wife No. 3 for Dean Martin :

Well, it was classic. Dean Martin (55), the classic singer-actor, married his wife No. 3 ex-model Cathy Hawn (25) in classic exhibitions of Hollywood splendour. Lilacs, tulips and other blossoms worth $50,000 came from France. The caviar was imported from Iran and the champagne was French—$36 a bottle. The bride got a wedding gift of $50,000 diamond-saphire-bracelet. Best Man Frank Sinatra's gift was also a gem—a diamondstudded cigarette lighter with an obscene inscription ! Ugh, classic. The great Watergate democracy !

## The Maker of King Kong Dies

The all-time movie classic King Kong needs no introduction to the cinegoers of this country. I mean, the ones who were bit early for the generation gap !

Actor Robert Armstrong (82) and director Merian Cooper (78), the men responsible for filming "King Kong", died of a heart attack in Santa Monica. Calif., April 20, a day before Cooper died of cancer in San Diego.

"You'll have the tallest, darkest leading man in Hollywood", Cooper promised Fay Wray—who discovered to her astonishment that he was talking about legendary ape of 50 feet tall (but played by an 18-inch dummy and mamoth paw for close ups), Cooper wrote, co-directed and co-produced the 1933 classic, casting Wray and Bruce Cabot as romantic leads and Armstrong as the showman who captures the ape King Kong, brings him to New York and mourns "T was-beauty killed the beast" when Kong is final'y shot down after runing amok in pursuit of Wray.

Perhaps the news makes one nostalgic. The kids will no more have the olde-olde King Kong filme...

### The Chor Theme !

If you scan the cinema column of any daily, weekly or monthly you won't fail to notice that *chor* themes, these days are getting a lot of attention from our movie *Mughals* ! This is a symbolic affairs.

Plagiarism or piracy is synonomous with the Hindi film industry. One often reads or hears about authors' going to court with the allegation that a certain producer or diector has lifted the original story without even a word of acknowledgement. Only when the original author can pin the producer in question, that is, fixes him nicely, some money is given to cover up the crime.

Even our Bengali cousins who have made a name for themselves as intellectuals in Bombay are not free from this con-man attitude. Look at Shrijut Promode Chakravarti—Chakravartibabu turned out a ritzy sort of flick called *Naya Dour*; gave a lot of dough as donation for Bangladesh relief but didn't have the honesty to admit that the story came from "Udayer Pathe" of Jyotirmoy Roy ! Even the paper-back scenarion in Hindi with a forward by Ashok Kumar and claimed to have been penned by Gulshan Nanda, Sachin Bhowmik et al did not say a word about its originality !

By the way, another loud-mouthed Bombayite intellectual is Shrijut Sachin Bhowmik. Like hell he copies from all available sources, cracks smutty jokes (imported from foreign sources as well as Hindi ones !) at his readers in a local Bengali weekly and goes on cribbing for ever with the air of a Confucius ! His latest abortion in this field is "Raja Rani"—a peculiar mixture of O. Henry and Shri Premendra Mitra ! Sharmila's meaty curves and Rajesh's sissy kinks could not save the pic from being the deserved flop of the year ! A little bird tells me that Sachinbabu once upon a time went to Germany to see a festival in which one of his 'epics' was supposed to be screened but he had to come back from the Rhyneland with his tail tucked between the hips because the Germans found out that the Hindi story had its origin in one of theGerman films !

Gulzar, the man often played up by newssheets like *Filmfare* and *Blitz* also has his resources ! Surprising that this man was, as he claims, a communist, committed to the ideals of *Gana Natya Sanghya.*

Then again there is the coterie of Burmanbabu to outdo the latest L.P. grunts and groans from across the Channel and the Atlantic !

Sab chor hai ?

### The Local Scene

In Calcutta, synchronising with Tagore's birthday, Shri Purnendu Patri has offered a film-version of Tagore's "Strir Patra". The film has patches of brilliance but is marred in depth. Because the designer-director Shri Patri has gone amok to do up the designs while missing the interpretation of the age.

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*Contd. from page 60*

# Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh

## LAUNCH AN INTERSTATE PROJECT

At a time when in view of an acute power shortage the hydel potential of the country needs an early utilisation, the Pench Hydro-electric Project jointly launched by Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh is highly welcome. The cost and the benefits of this Rs. 26.28 crores project will be shared by both the States in proportion.

On completion it is expected to generate 160 MW power, irrigate about 62,070 hectares of land in Nagpur and Bhandara districts and also to supply about 20 million gallons of water to Nagpur City.

# Perverted Sex-Appeal in The Indian Films

### NITAI GHOSH

INDIA is one of the chief priests of the world cultural temple. She is the container and messenger of the culture from the early days of civilisation. The exclusive and identical Indian cultural cultivation of art and literature claims her own peculiarity and superiority. The ramifications of this cultural trunk are dance, music and film art. The pretty buds like Udaishankar, the eminent dancer, Pandit Ravishankar, the world-renowned sitarist and Satyajit Ray, the pioneer of film-art who deserve world-wide reputation are some of the collected variegated fragrant fresh flowers in the basket of Indian culture which make a beautiful bouquet. This extroverted cultural manifestation is the special characteristics of Indian cultural ingredient.

For the last few years there is an endeavour to split, crush and crumble India's perpetual and immortal image.

Majority of so-called Bombay films is trying to grab the Indian film world whose purpose is to let Indian culture embrace immature death by displaying perverted and diseased sex-films, by defiling and adultering all that is good in society for the sake of money making. A band of well influenced greedy profiteers and black marketeers who have no sense of traditional knowledge of culture and time honoured precepts are planting their roots in the Indian film world as a monopoly business. These sort of greedy creatures have conspired to demolish the Indian culture guided by sheer allurement of money. A widespread inclination towards sex-pervertion is being visualised in every sphere of life—not only in film world only but in Art, Literature, Culture, and everywhere. Indian art and culture are leading towards an unknown destination with rapid speed with the butterfly appearance of perverted sex. It does not however mean that sex should be a taboo. Indian Epics represent sex with wonderful expression and poetic imagination. Even our greatest poet Rabindranath Tagore defines sex with a clear-cut and distinct expression—"Sex is an Art".

Satyajit Ray with his own transcendental application of Art succeeded in immortalising Rabindranath's pure sex art in 'Charulata'. But certain producers and directors are attempting to tarnish the artful representation of sex created by Satyajit Ray and Tapan Sinha. To-day it is going to happen what was inconceivable in the past. The Film Harem of Bombay is one of the holi-land for the perverted sex-industry. And the gentle breeze of the Harem blows also over Bengal and has thus caused a revolution in Bengal's culture. The theme of Bombay film music, there may be some exceptions, is full of sexual desire, there is an impudent sickness of passion in the dresses, the stories contain praises of daring mischievous deeds and above all the intense lust is represented by perverted gesture—posture of actors and actresses. Bombay films are murdering Indian culture by the exhibition of cultureless, artless, ignorant show of sex, affecting all spheres of society—labourers, peasants, intellectuals and adolescents. Everyone is suffering from this perverted sex-conciousness. Indo-American or Anglo-Indian culture are dragging Indian film headlong into deep dark abyss. Insolence, arrogance and puffed up variety of Texas films crawled and creeped through a tunnel and entered the broad court-yard of Bombay studios through which they have surrounded and pervaded Indian film world. It is undeniable that these types of films are accelerating the social decay and destruction.

The mainstyle of today's films is intoxicated manifestation of stripped or half-stripped bodies which is the main and most easy means to earn money—loathsome manifestation of jesture-posture of bodies, music producing shaky sonorous sound and an unrealistic fictitious, imaginery tales are all that constitute a typical Bambay play. Acting is a secondary thing. A part of the allocated time is spent with the filthiness, vulgarity and indecency of dancing performances; the other part is spent with unnecessary annoying laughter and mockery, next part consists of wrestling and fighting between the two rivals; a fragment of the period is enlightened with natural scenery. Then follows a thrilling and startling end as if two Romans are fighting in the Arena not to win Laurels, but engaged in a mock-fight. The whole purpose of the fighting performance is to get hold of the sweet lump of heroine's flesh. The rest of the period is reserved for the hero and heroine to display their thrilling and startling love-making. Love making means queer, odd and awkwardly dressed hero expressing sex-lust through jesturing posturing. The heroine tries to expose her curves to the best advantage and rouse passionate impulse through a frantic buttock dance, slight shaking of the naked belly, with drooping eyes and passionate look. The picture ends with lascivious hero reclining on the heroine's lap. The spectators filled to the brim with passionate lust get back to their den with a rapture.

The supreme authorities of the film world—the producers, directors and film artistes, exploit an inherent human weakness at the cost of welfare of society, at the cost of mental depravation of the future generation. An industry which should be a pioneer of culture appears before us as a destructive force. It transgresses and defiles society by indecent use of sex and advocacy of adultery. The supreme authorities of this film-industry are very busy with their task of turning the muddy society still more turbid and not to restrain themselves from the mischief and to renovate and mend society.

*(contd. on page 64)*

# Is there life in space ?

When the Apollo 11 mission left Cape Kennedy for the first moon landing in July 1969, scientists all over the world hoped the astronauts would find some evidence of life on the moon. In fact, when the Apollo 11 trio, Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin and Michael Collins, returned to earth, they were kept in quarantine for fear that they might carry some dangerous moon bacteria.

Since then five more Apollo missions have landed on the moon and they have proved beyond doubt that the desolate moon harbors no life, even in rudimentary form.

But, what are the chances of life on the moons of other planets in the solar system ?

Recently a team of American scientists working with Astronomer Carl Sagan at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, have come to the conclusion that life is possible on Titan, the largest of Saturn's 10 moons.

From infrared and other telescopic measurements of Titan—a body as large as the planet Mercury—Sagan and his colleagues have concluded that this celestial body is warmer (about – 100 degrees Fahrenheit) than previously estimated. It also has a thicker atmosphere than was suspected and is emitting small quantities of hydrogen gas into space.

These strange conditions on Titan have led the Cornell scientists to build the picture of a strange and turbulent world.

How has Titan, which is about 10 times farther away from the sun than is earth, managed to remain relatively warm ? Sagan explains that Titan's atmosphere must produce a "greenhouse effect"—that is, it conserves more heat under its clouds than it radiates back into space.

He believes that Titan's clouds could consist of rust-red organic compounds floating in a thick atmosphere of hydrogen, methane, and ammonia thrown up by volcanic eruptions.

These gases, when exposed to sunlight, could form into organic compounds such as sugars and amino acids. Such a mixture of ingredients is similar to the primordial "soup" that is believed to have led to the evolution of life on earth.

Sagan says : "Titan is a kind of time machine enabling us to look backward to the period of the early earth. I don't think life there is out of the question,"

The U. S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) plans to launch two unmanned spacecraft in the late 1970s that would reach the vicinity of Jupiter by 1979 and from there, with the help of Jupiter's gravity, go past Saturn in 1981.

### Palaeontology

An Australian palaeontologist has discovered footprints from the dawn of time in sedimentary rock in Eastern Victoria. They are the footprints of a four-legged creature, probably a lizard-like amphibian about three feet long. These footprints—the oldest ever discovered—are 355 million years old; their age was confirmed by fossil plant impressions of the same epoch. Eight footprints made by another long-extinct amphibian creature, which were discovered recently in sandstone in Southern Hungary, are "only" 250 million year old.

### Symphony

**"Symphony"** is the name of an experimental Franco-German telecommunications satellite, which six enterprises in France and Germany are building at present. A prototype of the 485-pound satellite is to be ready for launching by the middle of 1973. Two subsequent satellites should be finished by the end of 1973 and the beginning of 1974. "Symphony" will be the first European-produced telecommunications satellite. Orbiting the earth at an altitude of 22,500 miles, its function will be to transmit radio and television broadcasts, as well as telephone calls into the European African zone and the Eastern sections of North and South America. The syndicate of firms involved in building the satellite are Siemens. AEG-Telefunken and Messerschmitt Bolkow-Blohm and Aerospatiale, SAT and Thomson-CSF.

# The Origin of Life

*Academician Alexander Oparin*

The problem of the origin of life had long been regarded as insoluble, a question more of faith than knowledge. It was considered a question that a serious natural scientist wouldn't waste his time on. To overcome this attitude a lot of time and effort was required.

Only in the mid 'thirties, after the publication of my book *Origin of Life on Earth* soon translated into English, did the first important changes appear. However, a decisive turn has taken place only since the war, thanks to the vigorous growth of knowledge in biochemistry.

In the first quarter of the century, there was practically no scientific literature on the origin of life.

Now experimental works, articles, reviews, and monographs appear at a very high and ever faster rate.

The late Professor J.D. Bernal, FRS, pointed out that the chief practical reason for working on the problem was that, until it was solved, we could not understand contemporary life and, hence, control it. The vast volume of data built up as a result of intensive research by Soviet and other scientists gives a clearer picture of the evolutionary development of carbon compounds towards the origin of life.

### New Interpretation

By finding carbon compounds in interstellar space, the radio astronomers have shown that organic substances appeared not only before life on Earth but even before Earth itself formed. They have shown that Earth received a vast reserve of organic matter from outer space during its formation.

Contemporary experiments have somewhat clarified our ideas about the evolution of organic substances in the different local circumstances of the Earth's oceans, about the origin of the socalled "primaeval broth" and the formation in it of the precursors of life. Pre-Cambrian palaeontology has produced extremely valuable evidence, as has space research. The transition from chemical to biological evolution is still disputed and calls for special research.

One widely accepted idea claims that the "primaeval broth" first gave birth to proteins and nucleic acids with an intramolecular structure that predetermined their functions in the integral organism. These then assembled themselves into organisms. To me, these ideas seem echoes of the old mechanistic views, which linked a living organism to a machine assembled from readymade elements.

### No Pre-conceived "Plan of Creation" Fortunate Accident ?

And some of that organic substance on the Earth's surface must have formed increasingly complex high molecular compounds.

But if you speak of the entire surface of the Earth over tremendous periods of time, then the initial organic substances, inevitably and even on several occasions must have developed to a higher level or organisation. But they should not be regarded as having the eloborate intra-molecular structure typical of the proteins and nucleic acids we know today.

For organic substances to enter a new phase of evolution, they must have the ability to condition the origin of phase relations in a homogenous "primaeval broth." Individual multimolecular systems, isolated from external medium by the dividing surface, could have originated on this basis alone. The formation of such systems is on the boundary between chemical evolution and the biological evolution which was being born.

The first step was to overcome the mounting entropy in the new, very varied systems which must have been formed in vast quantities on the Earth's surface. Most of them were fundamentally different from the living creature we know today.

For instance, they could have been formed out of one polymer, they could have been protein-lipoid, carbohydrate-lipoid, etc. Finally. Systems were formed which consisted of proteins and nucleic-like polymers with accidental arrangements of the monomer remainder.

Then came the birth of a new quality, typical of all living systems : absolute adaption of their structure to constant self-survival and self-reproduction. This adaptivity or "purposeful" organisation of an integral living system both as a whole and in part (molecules, organoids and organs) fill the entire realm of life down to its most elementary forms.

### Natural Selection

But this organisation could have originated only on the basis of a new law – natural selection—which took shape and developed in the process of evolution. Our model experiments with coacervate drops have shown that the evolution of individual open systems (protobionts) which leads to consistent improvement of their interaction with the external medium, growth and multiplication could have been based on the operation of prebiological natural selection. As a result of this many protobionts disappeared—because they could not compete with other better organised systems.

If nucleic-protein protobionts had not existed, many other formations such as proteinoid formations might have survived. But in that case life on Earth would have been of a totally different character. At the same time our life today is not the outcome of some purposeful process determined by some prearranged plan in advance.

We maintain that life has inevitably assumed precisely the form we know today, only because we are ignorant of any other form of life. We may hope that space exploration and research will shed light on this question, too.

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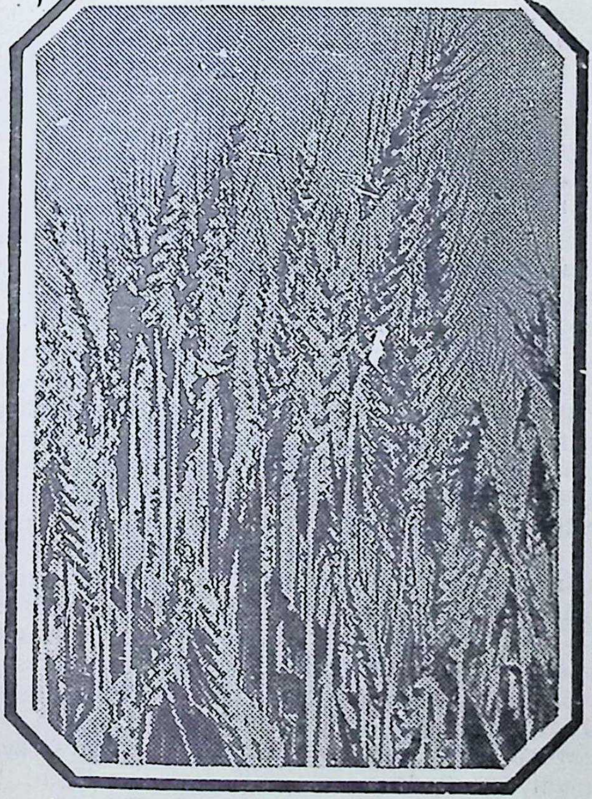
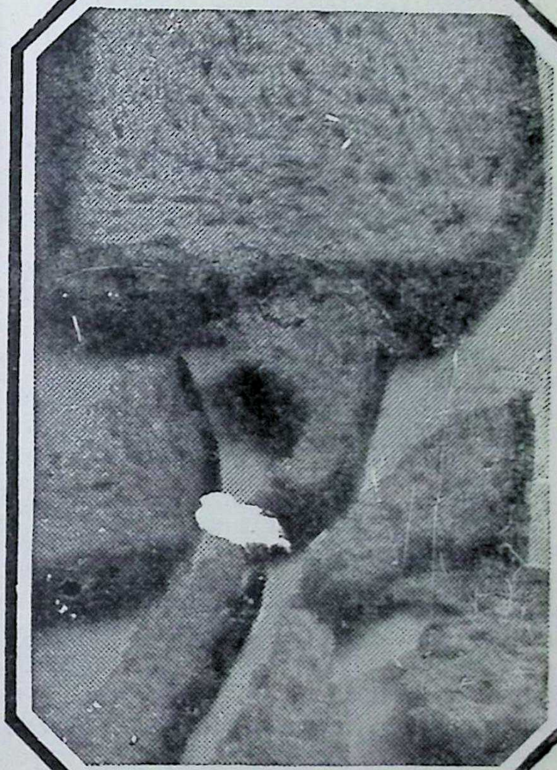


...IN PLENTY



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# Book Review

**China's Shadow on India & Bangladesh** : *By Shahsi Bhushan M.P.*,
*Published by* **Institute for Socialist Education**,
**February, 1973 ; pp. 72 ; Price : Rs 2/-**

Ever since President Nixon made terms with Mao Tse-tung, the apologists of both China and USA have intensified their campaign for making friendship with Peking at all costs. These protagonists try labouriously to sell the new Americal line, "Make Peace with China as Nixon has done". This campaign aims at influencing the thinking of those developing countries of the Third World which learnt from their bitter experiences how dear and injurious the Chinese friendship can be. These countries for historical reasons developed emotional attachment for China and believed sincerely that China which like many other newly-freed countries in Asia fought against the British colonialism would make a common cause with them in fighting the remnants of British colonialism and the rapidly advancing menace of American imperialism. To their utter dismay, they however found soon that their hopes were misplaced and China exhibiting all the vices of a colonialist country tries to undermine the sovereignty and independence of its neighbouring countries.

In some cases, China quite unexpectedly resorted to armed confrontation as in the case of India in 1962. The Indians, who genuinely believed in China's friendship have been shocked by China's continued hostility and its unfriendly role during the 1965 Indo-Pak conflict against the country. In the recent cataclysmic struggle of the Bangladesh people, China's conduct in siding with the forces of genocide in Bangladesh and Vietnam came as a shock as well as an eye-opener for friends and foes alike. The peace-loving forces all over the world and the liberation forces in Bangladesh particularly, understood clearly how hollow was China's loud-mouthed claim of championship of the cause of oppressed people everywhere. These horrible memories cannot be erased easily from the minds of genuine peace and freedom-loving people by the cacophonous propaganda of the Sino-US apologists.

The author, who is well-known for his championship of the cause of world peace and progress, has in this short booklet ably given an objective analysis of China's aims and activities which is so essential for any improvement of India's relationship with China. India which has been a glaring victim of China's hostile activities for hegemony cannot afford the luxury of USA by forgetting the dreadful past so soon and plunging into the vivacious Chinese embrace. This is however not to suggest that India should always be at loggerheads with China. What is necessary is that, as Mr. Shashi Bhushan argues, in any improvement of Sino-Indian ties, India's interest should reign supreme. The improvement should take place on a bilateral basis without making the Sino-US pattern a panacea in this regard.

Mr. Shashi Bhushan rightly points out that both China and USA are in hand in glove with Paskistan to contain India and they are constantly hatching conspiracies to achieve their respective aims. These powers have no regard for India's policy of non-alignment and are bent upon jeopardising Indo-Soviet friendship which has however stood the test of time admirably.

Dividing the booklet into seven short and crisp chapters, the author with his political acumen has laid bare the global objectives of the two super-powers —USA and China. Without much theorising the author makes the bold assertion that Maoism has nothing common with socialism or what Marx or Lenin wrote and stood for. Maoism which has militarised China's economy to achieve Mao's hegemonic ambitions finds it little difficult to sail in the same boat with USA which is known for its monstrous anti-people activities.

With little more attention to production and care for more lucid translation from Hindi, the quality and respectability of this an otherwise well-written booklet could have been rewardingly improved.

—**Tapan Das**

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(*Contd. from page 60*)

To-day the holi-land of culture is full of indecent cultural scandals. The people are silent, the intellectual community and political leaders are too busy with their own selfish thoughts. No one bothers to spare time to think or to mediate over a serious matter which concerns welfare of the whole community.

It is a very lamentable state of affair and a time has come when well wishers of culture and art should combine and exert their energy to remove the infectious canker with a strong hand, educate and rouse the audience, make them conscious of their heritage and hold before the people the universal message of Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram.

# Spring Has Come To The Road

**To my young friends in the shock youth brigades of young volunteers**

### NGUYEN ABO

On the roads of our country
Wave after wave, we march forward
Parachute flares, shells and bullets !
What do we fear ! Merrily we sing.
We grew up singing the praise of Dien bien Phu.
As little children, we went to school
And played on the roads, which radiate
To all corners of our country.
All of them were filled
With the hum of wheels and the whistle of trains,
And crowded with traffic night and day.
All of them were soaked with sweat,
And on wintry nights, under icy rain and wind
Our elders built bridges across rivers.

II

To those elders we now succeed
On the roads of the Resistance
Bomb craters furrowing their surface
Fill our hearts with hot anger !
Long convoys waiting at the ferry,
Bridges bearing the traces of enemy rockets
Like so many aching wounds !
The night is cold, yet hatred burns our hearts.
Schools are but heaps of rubble
Incendiaries have singed the rice in the fields.
At every step, we see traces of U. S crimes,
At each step, hatred flares anew in our hearts.

III

Let their planes roar overhead,
Let us grasp tightly the handles of our tools ;
In the starry sky, let our songs rise
And let smiles appear on our lips.
Carrying stone and timber, we rebuild bridges and roads.
Pushing wheelbarrows, digging earth. "Humdrum work" you'd say ?
To it, body and soul we are devoted.
Bombs have fallen yonder on the pass,
Immediately we come—a whole army—
The hills resound with the sound of crowbars ;
Sparks fly amidst young merry laughter !
Bridges again span impetuous streams ;
Along the Troung Son range, roads are opened anew,
Every inch of them soaked with our blood ;
They run through jungle and pass mountains.
Each clod of earth is wet with our sweat ;
We work whole nights, our backs drenched with dew,
Rubbing our callused hands, we watch
With shining eyes every lorry that passes.
Over yonder peak, the morning star is twinkling,
The night is not spent, yet the road is ready.
Guns pointing skywards lorries rumble past.
We cheer and wave, oh what joy !
In the jungle, trees are blooming,
Buds sprout on the bough a bullet has grazed,
Spring has come to the road,
And healed its wounds overnight.
Along the roads of our country
Wave after wave we march forward
Parachute flares, shells and bullets
What do we fear ! Merrily we sing.

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We had the double honour of being congratulated by our worthy Soviet friends of Raznoimport, Moscow, on the Auspicious Occasion of the Indian Republic Day, 26th January, 1973, and also on finalizing and signing of the biggest one item Contract 1973 Trade Protocol for Power Cables for 33,750,000 00 (Thirty three million and seven hundred fifty thousand Indian Rupees) at Moscow on the Republic Day.

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# VOICE OF GREATMEN

Struggle, struggle was my motto for the last ten years. Struggle, still say I. When it was all dark I used to say, struggle, when light is breaking in, I still say struggle. Be not afraid,...Look not up in that altitude of fear towards that infinite starry vault as if it would crush you. Wait ! In a few hours move the whole of it will be under your feet. Wait, money does not pay, nor name ; fame does not pay nor learning. It is love that pays; it is character that cleaves its way through adamantine walls of difficulties.

*—Swami Vivekananda.*

Our aim will be to help in building up India for the sake of humanity—this is the spirit of Nationalism, which we profess and follow, we say to humanity : "The time has come when you must take the great step and rise out of a material existence into the higher, deeper, wider life towards which humanity moves. The problem which have troubled mankind can only be solved by conquering the kingdom within, not by harnessing of Nature to the service of comfort and luxury, but vindicating the freedom of man within as well as without and by conquering from within external nature. For that work resurgence of Asia is necessary, therefore, Asia rises. For that work the freedom and greatness of India are essential, therefore, she claims her destined freedom and greatness.

*—Aurobindo.*

Oh India, land of light and spiritual knowledge ! Wake up to your true mission in the world, show the way to Union and harmony.

*—Mother (of Pondicherry).*

Blessed am I that I am born to this land
and that I had the luck to love her.
What care I if queenly treasure is not in her store
but precious enough for me
that living wealth of her love
The best gift of fragrance to my heart is from her
own flowers and I know not where else
shines the moon that can flood my being with such loveliness.
The first light revealed to my eyes was from her own sky
And let the same light kiss me before they are closed for ever.

*—Tagore.*

The rich cannot accummulate wealth without the cooperation of the poor in society. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

I am endeavouring to see God through service of humanity, for I know that God is neither in heaven nor down below, but in everyone.

I would have state ownership where a large number of people have to work together. The ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or un-skilled, will vest in them through the state.

*—Mahatma Gandhi.*

The socialist revolution will not be solely or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in each country against their bourgeoise—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.

The minds of tens of millions of those who are doing things create something infinetely loftier than the greatest genius can foresee.

Oppression alone, no matter how great, does not always give rise to a revolutionary situation in a country.

In most cases it is not enough for revolution that the lower classes should not want to live in the old way. It is also necessary that the upper classes should be unable to rule and govern in the oldway.

*—Lenin.*

I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the worlds problems lis and of India's problems lies Socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine ; it is philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism.

*—Nehru.*

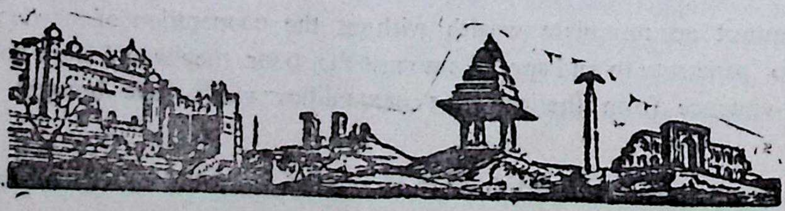
By freedom I mean all round-freedom *i.e.* freedom for the industrial as well as for society, freedom for the rich as well as for the poor, freedom for men as well as for women, freedom for all individuals and all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social inequities and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance. Freedom means life, and death in the pursuit of freedom means glory imperishable.

*—Netaji.*

We are citizens of an ancient country which is now becoming a modern one. We should like to build up this country in a fashion that if it is mentioned any where or if its citizens go anywhere then goes with them a new light, a new strength and new ideology.

It is not enough that we should enjoy the facilities, the comforts which are available in an independent country but we should equally partake of the miseries and sufferings and the burdens that are there. If we look at our problems from this point of view we would be able to solve our problems.

*—Smt. Indira Gandhi.*



*Editorial*

# Challenge of the Right Reaction

THE ANTI-NATIONAL reactionary forces under the design and colossal aid of the mighty neo-imperialists, have raised their ugly heads in different parts of India to scuttle the progressive measures of Smt Indira Gandhi's government. The united front of the forces of right reaction have taken shape in tune with the policy of their neo-imperialist masters. The artificial food shortage and the price-rise have opened up grand opportunity to the enemies of the country to sabotage the radical programmes of the government by inciting the suffering people with the vicious spirit of communalism, linguism, regionalism, casteism and separatism. The reactionary elements of the country are acting as the tools of the neo-imperialists to fulfil the imperialistic design of flaring fratracidal warfare within India and thus hurling a severe blow to the solidarity of the Indian people. The imperialists know it very well that so long the unity of the Indian people is in tact, no power however mighty, will be able to force India to submission. They are fully aware that India under the bold leadership of Smt Gandhi will uphold the anti-imperialist policy and struggle heroically for the establishment of peace in this world. India's historic stand for the liberation of Bangladesh from the shackles of the Pak military regime aided by US and China, inflicted a severe blow to the imperialist camp. The imperialists' design to flare up war tension in the Indian subcontinent and its neighbourhood by setting up one Asian country against another as well as uniting the reactionary elements to unleash counter-revolution within India, received a rude shock at the emergence of Bangladesh as a free, democratic, secular and socialist country with the historic military operation of the Government of India.

The deepening economic crisis has given brilliant scope to the enemies of India to sow the seed of discontent among the armed police, military, workers, employees of strategic industries, such as railways, communication, power and electricity, broadcasting stations and food organisations. The sinister machination of the enemies of India fomented armed revolt of the P. A. C. in U. P. and lightening strike of the Railway employees to sabotage the food movement to the affected areas. They will make desperate attempts to create chaos and confusion throughout the country for paralysing the administration and thus to implement the plan of the neoimperialists.

India is facing to-day a new challenge of the reactionaries aided by the neo—colonialists.

The fissiparous tendencies of regionalism, linguism and separatism have vitiated the political horizon of different states in India. The self-styled leaders of different provinces have conveniently forgotten that India is one and indivisible. It must be brought home to the people of India that united we stand and divided we fall. The people must be made conscious about the bitter lessons of Indian history that India lost her freedom not for the want of military power but for the lack of unity among countrymen. After independence under the dynamic leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the people of India stood as one man against the military aggression of Pakistan and China and upheld the country's freedom.

In 1965 during Lal Bahadur Shastri's regime the united strength of the Indian people defeated the

Pak aggressors. In 1971 the entire people of India rallied behind Smt. Indira Gandhi's dynamic leadership to inflict crushing defeat to the Pak military aggression.

We must not forget the teachings of the historic victory of the Indian army and the people against the military aggression of the Pak army with the colossal aid of arms and funds of USA and China. We should bear in mind that the storm is brewing again in the Western sector due to the machination of the neoimperialists. The mighty rulers of US and China have been arming to the teeth the Pak and Iran military forces to unleash fresh conflagration in the Indian subcontinent. We must be conscious about our task to face this new challenge of the enemies of India.

It is high time that the Government should take up suitable measures to gear up its machinery to rise to the occasion. The Government employees should be made conscious about their responsibility in the face of the impending danger of the country. Price—freeze and wage freeze must be done forthwith to step-up the growth of our economy. The production in the field and factory must be stepped up at any cost. The Government machinery in the ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Irrigation and Power should be radically reoriented to meet the urgent needs of the country. The alarming power shortage will put a brake in the progress of our production both in the factory and the field. People at the helm of irrigation and power should lose no time to generate patriotic urge among the scientists, engineers and technicians of the power stations to conduct them effectively.

The officials and employees of the Food and Agriculture ministry and Food Corporation should be imbibed with the the spirit of patriotism to render their best services for the solution of the food problem.

The Indian National Congress being the instrument of transformation of the social structure in India, should mobilise the entire people of India in carrying on relentlessly the grim struggle against the onslaught of the neoimperialists and their agents. The Congress should take up the task of making the people conscious about their role in fighting the sinister machination of the enemies of India. The suffering people of India must be rallied behind the Government for the proper implementation of the radical measure of the taking over of the entire procurement and distribution of food grains to mitigate the miseries of the people. The Congress workers should unite all democratic forces of the country for the effective implementation of all radical measures of the government. The Congressmen must act as the vanguard in the revolution of construction under the heroic leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi.

In view of the sharpening crisis in the economic and political arena the Congressmen must sink all their differences and march shoulder to shoulder with other democratic forces to fight ceaselessly against the conspiracy of the enemies of the country. The Congress should be reoriented as a fullfledged Socialist Party with dedicated and selfless cadres to usher in socialism in India. The crying need of the hour is the quality of workers and not the number.

India of 1973 must march forward towards its objective of socialist order where the conspiracy of the anti-national and anti-democratic forces will be completely eliminated along with the liquidation of monopolism and the unjust inequality of distribution of our national wealth. The people of India must attain the cherished goal of building up a happy socialist India where poverty, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and exploitation of man by man would be things of the past. A strong socialist India shall achieve sufficient military might to inflict crushing defeat to the enemies of the country.

# comments...

## Groaning Calcutta

The people of Calcutta are groaning to-day due to growing unemployment, power shortage, abnormal pressure of population, environmental pollution, the most unhygienic condition of living and adulteration in food Calcutta, the largest city of the Indian sub-continent, presents to-day a very pathetic and dismal picture of a decaying city of contradictions. On the one hand lakhs and lakhs educated unemployed are undergoing the pangs of actue sufferings due to utter frustration and poverty while the privileged few monopolists are fattening their purse by exploiting the impoverished common people. While the palatial buildings adorn the city, lakhs of people live on the footpath and many lakhs have shelter in the stingy unhabitable Bustees. When luxurious hotels and restaurants are coming up gradually in the posh areas and the rich show off their riches through grand parties, the common people and the unemployed youths are facing half-starvation and malnutrition. The gap between the rich and the common people is widening from day to day.

The polarisation of the economic forces is sharpening more and more the contradictions in the social structure. The soaring price-rise of the essential comodities has acutely aggravated the situation. The impoverished toiling masses, the unemployed and the low income group are being pushed to the last ditch by the abnormal cost of living and food shortage. Unemployment is growing from day to day to deepen the crisis further. Utter frustration stares at the faces of the youths of Bengal. The youths find no future except starvation and unparalleled sufferings. The groaning of the suffering people has enveloped the horizon of Calcutta.

The largest city of India has earned the notoriety as one of the dirtiest cities of the world. The streets strewn with heaps of garbages have become unfit for human habitation. The roads are so abnormally congested that even the motor vehicles and buses are to move at a snail's pace. The congestion is increasing from day to day.

It is high time that the city should be decentralised. The State and the Central Govt. should shift most of the departments to the naeighbouring towns such as Burdwan, Kalyani, Krishnanagar, Barrackpore and Diamond Harbour, as a result these towns will also develop. Calcutta must be saved from the pressure of over-population, which causes unusual waste of man power.

The govt. should lose no time to take up requisite measures for saving the Ganges from being silted up. If the Ganges water is diverted to the South, then the Bhagirathi river will dry up and Calcutta will gradually turn into a dead city like the city of 'Tamralipta'. The silting of the Ganges bed has already adversely affected the Calcutta port. All out attention should be given to revitalise the Calcutta port.

It must be borne in mind that the Ganges is the life line not only of Calcutta but also of the whole of Eastern India. If the Ganges is allowed to be silted up, then the city of Calcutta and whole of West Bengal will be totally ruined.

Decaying Calcutta with lakhs and lakhs suffering unemployed and impoverished toiling masses is sure to face its doomsday if the Government does not act promptly to save the city.

## Crisis in West Bengal's Handloom Industry

For want of requisite supply of yarn. a serious crisis has arisen in the handloom industry of West Bengal. Since its beginning in January, 1972, the crisis has been deepening alarmingly threatening even the bare existence of the industry that has a glorious past of 'Muslin' fame and even now certain uniqueness in its artistic styles of weaving which find appreciation not only in the home market but the world market as well where market for Indian handicrafts has been expanding during the recent years. In fashionable garments, Santipur, Farashdanga, Dhanekhali, Begampur etc., each with a unique style still has market potentials. And a larger section of this industry that produces mosquito curtains, napkins, lungis etc. for the common man still has great utility. Despite so, the industry faces a grave crisis.

If the unavailability of yarn needed to run the handlooms persists, many thousands of weavers self-employed in this industry may be thrown out of employment altogether. And, thus, a people's industry may be extinct. In the district of Bankura alone there are about 16,000 handlooms wherein 45,000 people are employed. And the 20,000 handlooms run by the refugee-weavers from Dacca, Tangail, Meherpur, Chuadanga etc. rehabilitated in and around Santipur, by the side of Ranaghat and in a wide area stretching beyond Nabadwip employ proportionately a very large number of people. Besides, within Santipur's municipal area alone there are about 60,000 thousand people employed in this industry.

The crisis has grown to such an extent that reportedly some weavers of Nibhumi Bazar, not far from Santipur, have closed down their looms and taken to retail trade and transport of rice on bicycles, to eke out a living. Santipur and like places where 70 to 75% of the people derive their living mostly and in many cases entirely from the handloom industry appear to be the most hard hit. The voluntary Supply Scheme introduced in August, 1972 by the Central Govt. to mitigate the crisis brought about some relief to the weavers through voluntary supply of some yarn by mill owners. Since November 1972 it has practically ceased to function.

Now, in West Bengal, non-availability of yarn has not only hit the handloom industry there, it has hit the hosiery industry too, even the bidi-making industry is not getting its needed yarn.

Anyway conditions that aggravate shortfalls in production and growing unemployment must not be allowed to continue.

## Deficit Financing & Prices

Deficit financing reached a new height during the year 1972-73 and stands at Rs. 830 crores. Budgeted deficit was Rs. 251 crores but rose to Rs. 550 crores in the revised deficit estimates and finally closed at Rs. 830 crores. This is about Rs. 140 crores more than in 1971-72 which was itself a record during the last fifteen years. The budgeted deficit financing during 1973-74 is estimated at Rs. 85 crores. But one does not know what figure this will reach at the end. Expenditure on the Third Pay Commission itself which was not accounted for in the budget is estimated at Rs. 145 crores and a fresh confrontation with Pakistan cannot be ruled out.

In the meantime the prices are shooting up. All commodities index in April stood at 15.8% higher than April 1972. Food articles rose by 18.7%, industrial raw material rose by 39.3% and manufactures by 6.83%. The wholesale price index registered an increase of 20%, it rose from 210.9 in March to 222.7. In spite of the fact that there had been unexpected drought throughout the country resulting in food import, coupled with decline in revenue receipts yet this huge deficit financing is not wholly justified as there was heavy taxation and floating of Central loans during 1972-73. It is imperative therefore that all undisciplined Governmental expenditures should drastically be curtailed and no new nonproductive projects should be launched. Another point which requires governmental attention is indiscriminate expansion of bank credit giving fillip to a sharp rise in prices. A proof of its failure in this respect is the recent indulgence on the part of the nationalised banks in an advance spree even under-cutting each other.

## Bangla Desh on the March

Bangla Desh marches towards progress. It is really heartening to learn that the Peoples' Republic of Bangla Desh in spite of heavy odds is making headway towards the solution of her burning problems. The Pak—devastated industries have been reorganised to start production. The landless peasants have been given land free of charge according to the declaration of the Bangla Desh Government regarding agrarian reforms. They have distributed 5,33,000 acres of cultivable land including 71,000 thousand acres of surplus land of big land owners. The landless peasants who are ready to work under cooperative farming are being given 2½ acres each. They have been allotted funds also to build up their homes.

The export earnings of Bangla Desh are being stepped up to solve the acute economic problem. The Government is encouraging in every way the formation of cooperative farms throughout the country.

The Government has taken up the programme of liquidating illiteracy with all earnestness.

Drastic measures have been adopted by the Government to check the price rise causing untold sufferings to the people. No doubt in a devastated country like Bangla Desh where production instruments have been practically paralysed, the price rise of the essential commodities of life is inevitable. Price rise can be effectively brought down if the production in the field and factory is increased. It is really commendable that the Awami League as a ruling party has taken up a bold programme to stop blackmarketing and hoarding. Thousands of Awami League volunteers in cooperation with the Government machinery have launched effectively peoples' movement against blackmarketing and hoarding.

It is true indeed that in spite of the sinister machinations of the imperialists and their agents, the heroic people of Bangla Desh under the dynamic leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is marching forward to build up a happy and prosperous golden Bangla, "Sonar Bangla".

# Power Shortage

It is really mysterious that the power shortage has become a regular phenomenon during the last few months. It has dealt a great blow to the growth of our production in the field and factory just at a time when India needs more production to ameliorate the acute sufferings of the people. It is understandable that the power stations in one or two states may break down within three or four months. But it is very strange that all the power stations in India have now ceased to function properly. The power shortage will sharpen the economic crisis more and more and thus the sufferings of the common people will be aggravated.

When the neo-imperialists and their agents are planning to unleash fresh aggression against India all out efforts should be made to step up production both in the field and the factory. The neo-imperialists' design is to hurl a severe blow to our economy and the timing of their attack will be fixed when our economic crisis will be further deepened.

In is high time that the Government of India should set up a scientists' committee to probe into the cause of this power crisis which is going to upset all plans. If the power stations are not scientifically reoriented then the crisis will be sharpened more and more. It is all the more necessary for a developing country like India where per capita income is not more than Rs. 30.00 only. Power is vital for the economic development of a nation.

The Government should set up leading scientists' research institute to make all out efforts to harness the solar energy available in abundance in India. India should not immitate the mighty powers to install nuclear power stations which are sure to bring about environmental pollution. The people at the helm of affairs should take note that the scientists of the leading countries are desperately attempting to find out ways for saving their countries from the pollution of the nuclear power stations. The Indian scientists should give a lead in utilising the solar energy for our speedy economic development.

# Fight among the Capitalist Camp

The cyclic monetary and financial crisis of the capitalist economy and the deepening of the trade competition between US and the Western European countries as well as Japan has pushed the entire capitalist structure out of gear. The inherent contradiction of the capitalist economy has been sharpening the crisis more and more. The leaders of the West European countries are seriously engaged to chalk out plans to free their countries from the octopus of the acute trade and economic rivalry of US.

The West European capitalist countries stand in an advantageous position regarding population of 253 millions in a territory spreading over 1530 sq. kilometres while USA has a population of 207.4 millions over a territory of 9363 sq. kilometre. While U.S.A. produces 40.3 per cent of the total industrial production of the capitalist world, the West European countries produce only 25.5 per cent of the total production. The West European countries control 49.8 thousand million dollars of gold and foreign currency reserves while U.S.A. controls only 13.2 million dollars of gold. The West European countries have 42.5 per cent share in the trade of the capitalist world whereas the share of U.S.A. has come down to 14.2 per cent only. Thus it is quite evident that U.S.A. has advanced much more than the common market of nine countries in industrial production and progress of science and technology. The dollar being the reserve currency of the entire capitalist world during the last thirty years and the resources of oil and natural gas of the US being more than 4 times of the common market countries as well as the US multi-national corporations having greater financial and industrial power than the E.E.C. countries, the West Europe greatly depends on US. The US monopoly cartels have invested heavily in Western Europe since 1960. The Wall street with an investment of 27 thousand million dollars wields great control over the economy of E.E.C. countries. The US monopolists can exploit the European common Market freely as they enjoy equal rights with the West European firms. The common Market monopolists have recently taken up a bold stand to oust the US influence in trade.

As a result of this sharpening rivalry the E.E.C. have laid down a tariff policy to corner the US monopolists from the European Market. The unusual deficit balance of trade of 6400 million dollars has been caused to a large extent by the stiff policy of the West European capitalist groups. So the US after entering into a political and economic agreement with China has now diverted its attention to settle up its relations with the E.E.C. countries for the purpose of maintaining its hegemony over Western Europe. The US rulers are nervous about their strained relation with the West European countries. So President Nixon is going to visit Europe next autumn to smoothen the relation in order to maintain their trade supremacy. However desperately the US rulers may attempt to save their economy from the adverse balance of payment it is not at all possible for them to get rid of the sharpening contradiction of the capitalist economy. The spectacular development of science and technology has increased the productive capacity many thousand times to pave the way for the inevitability of a revolutionary change in the production relations. It is high time that the leaders of the capitalist world should try to diagnose the real cause of the deepening cyclic crisis of the capitalist economy. They should give up their mad race for the manufacture of deadly weapons of human destruction. They should harness science and technology for the prosperity and happiness of man and not for war, which turns man into cruel beasts.

The deepening economic crisis of the capitalist world due to the shrinking of their market for exploitation has enveloped the international horizon with stormy clouds. The European detente under the initiative of Soviet Union has no doubt ignited the light to dispel the darkness of the international arena. World peace is essential for the survival of the human civilisation particularly in this nuclear age.

## African Unity

The unity of the African people has been growing from day to day since the establishment of the Organisation of African unity in May, ten years ago. The urge of the African people for liberation from the octopus of the colonialists, racists and apartheid regimes, has given shape to the growth of the OAU to carry on grim struggle for the liberty of the entire exploited people of Africa to fight successfully against colonialism, apartheid and racism. The colonialists and the racists with the colossal aid of the Nato powers are still carrying on ruthlessly naked exploitation in a large part of Africa.

The colonialists are trying to disrupt the unity of the African people by setting one state against the other. The neoimperialists are even now militarily interfering in the affairs of the African states in order to continue their exploitation of the natural resources of Africa.

The Portuguese colonialists in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea—Biassau and the racists in South Africa, Nambia and Rhodesia with the colossal aid of USA and the NATO Block, have been following their strategic plans of nakedly exploiting the African people. The colonialists and racists are engineering border clashes between Kenya and Somalia, Somalia and Ethiopia, Mauritania and Mali, Ghana and Togo thus disrupting African unity to perpetuate their economic domination. They are flaring up armed clashes between the tribal people and the East African countries.

The African people should unite to hurl a severe blow to colonialism, racism and apartheid. The OAU has been strengthening the liberation movement of the African people during the last ten years. The independent States are giving unstinted moral and material support to the African freedom fighters. The liberation struggle of the African people aims at complete liquidation of colonialism and racism.

The freedom struggle of the African people deserves all out support from the entire freedom loving people of the world.

## Soviet Union—F.R.G. Treaty

The dawn of a new era of Euoropean Peace has been ushered by the ten year agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation signed on May 19, 1973 in Bonn by the Soviet Party leader Mr. L. Brezhnev and the West German Chancellor. Mr. Willy Brandt at the conclusion of the former's visit to the German capital.

The agreement consists of ten articles. Both countries will strive to expand and deepen economic, industrial and technical cooperation between their competent bodies and enterprises on the basis of mutual benefit. Cooperation within the present agreement covers establishment of industrial complexes, cooperation in the production of industrial items of equipment and other commodities, cooperation in the production of raw-materials, exchange of patents, licences, know-how and technical information The two countries decided to conclude a number of major contracts. The contracting parties will assist the cooperation of their competent bodies and enterprises in third countries. They also envisage the formation of a commission of the USSR and F.R.G. for economic, scientific and technical cooperation. This commission will determine branches in which expansion and cooperation for longer terms is desirable and for this purpose it will take into consideration mutual requirements and resources of raw-materials, different kinds of energy, technology and so on. It was further agreed that the quadri-partite agreement of September 1971 would apply to Berlin (West). The agreement, however, does not affect the bilateral add multi-lateral treaties and agreements concluded earlier by either of the parties.

Besides this agreement, USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and F.R.G. Foreign Minister Walter Scheel signed an agreement on May 19, on cultural cooperation between the countries. This cooperation will contribute to a better mutual understanding.

Cooperation between USSR and F.R.G. in the political, economic and cultural field will help strengthening the security in Europe. These agreements, according to Mr. Brezhnev, express "the desire of the peoples for security and peaceful cooperation between European States" and finds "concrete expression, specialy in preparation for an all European conference."

We hope that detente in Europe between countries belonging to different ideologies will lead to a peaceful environment when the achievements of human civilisation and scientific and technological progress will be used not for enmity and destruction, but for creation, for the enhancement of living standard and spiritual wealth of nations.

# India on a New Journey

**Smt. Indira Gandhi**

Modern Indian history began with our struggle for independence. We are still in the phase of an ascendant, affirmative nationalism—like many other Asian and African nations. Nearly half of India's people have been born free and have no personal memory of the colonial days.

## POLITICAL FREEDOM

"We are engaged in building the nation, in giving political freedom its full economic and social content. Foreign voices and some Indian echoes frequently ask whether India will hold together. To Indians themselves, political unity and cohesiveness are not in question. However, we know that this unity, like freedom, has to be constantly defended and worked for.

In a large country characterized by the wides imaginable diversity, it is natural for region and language to make a powerfull claim to individual loyalties. But our conviction that diversity can be a greater source of strength than any imposed uniformity has prevented parochial passions from becoming a divisive force.

Responsiveness to and accommodation of legitimate local grivances has lent strength to the total fabric.

## COMPLEX SOCIETY

Our Constitution reflects the complexity of our society and also its capacity for self-correction. It has helped our endeavour of nation-building. Although the framework of the Constitution owes much to our association with Britain and other members of the Commonwealth, its spirit and indeed the motive force of our entire political system was generated through the long years of the struggle for freedom under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The unity of India is not the legacy of the British. Through the centuries, India has been a cultural entity which neither conquests nor the changing boundaries of its kingdoms were able to erode. Its political unity in modern terms was the product of the fight against foreign rule and of challenges faced together.

To us freedom was the beginning of a new journey, the door to changes that had been leld in abeyance. An opportunity to rid Indian society of hierarchy and social inequality.

## STATE POLICY

Our State policy has four major premises ; democracy, socialism, secularism and a non-aligned, independent foreign policy. They are not unconnected objectives but have an organic inter-relationship and are consistent with our tradition.

Democracy is more than a value ; it is the best means of bringing about economic and social development. The belief that no country has a moral right to rule over another has its corollary that no group within a country can arrogate to itself the right to make decisions for others.

Freedom can be complete only when authority is not the preserve of a small power elite and when Government is of all. The political process has succeeded in evoking the faith and involvement of a large proportion of our vast population. A majority of our voters may lack formal education but they have displayed as sure an understanding of issues as their more educated counterparts in other countries.

For us the justification of politics is the elimination of poverty and disparity. Development constitutes a special dimension of our democracy. It is generally recognized that the changes taking place along desired lines have enabled democracy to take root. The democratic system permits the opponents not only of the Government of the day but of the system itself to propagate their viewpoint. In return it expects a sense of responsibility from them indeed from all citizens.

The basis of democracy is that people, by and large, will have the discrimination to sift the false from the true and the wisdom to reconcile personal or group advantage with the larger benefit of the people as a whole. At the same time, the ideal of egalitarianism does release envoy at all levels and the highly competitive nature of contemporary society tempts people to use any means to get ahead.

Thus the interests of an individual or a group are in constant clash with the welfare of the community. How far is it possible to inculcate a selfless attitude without the sort of brain washing that impinges on freedom of thought ? How does one reconcile the demands for individual freedom with these orders ?

## EXTREMISTS

We have also our share of those who do not believe in peaceful change and parliamentary institutions. We have extremists who have preached and in small areas attempted murder and expropriation We have fanatical parties which are opposed to secularism, by which we mean that the State will not further the interests of any one religious creed to the detriment of others but will give equal respect for all religions. There is no conflict between the secular and the sacred.

The evil, the spectacular, the out-of the way attract headlines. These happenings must be seen in perspective.

India has more people than the North and South American continents and Australia combined. Of our 21 States, 12 have more than 20 million people each and the largest has 90 million.

## CONSCIOUSNESS

We have troubles and uncertainties, but the overall reality is of a people who are growing in political consciousness, assertion and articulation, impatient for faster changes and at the same time more confident of their capacity.

Democracy will hold in India provided it can withstand attempts to deny equality and thwart change in the name of the liberty of the individual which unfortunately is what some groups are doing. They level wholly unjustified criticism invoking the spectre of a totalitarian collectivism, a monster State which is attacking basic rights.

This reveals failure to comprehend the changes which are taking place the world over, the mood of our people and the fact that there are many varieties of socialism.

We cherish freedom of speech, of association and of belief and the right of life, liberty and the protection of law. But we cannot agree that fundamental liberties include opportunities for a small number of individuals to amass unlimited property.

A people steeped in poverty naturally yearn for relief from want and social injustice. This can be achieved only through a vast expansion of the productive apparatus and equitable distribution of the fruits of progress.

## DEVELOPMENT

It is obvious that development cannot be left to the mercy of market forces. The profit motive which defies the rights of owners of property, denies hope to the millions.

State intervention becomes necessary to ensure that the limited resources are directed into priority sectors of the economy

We do not follow the extreme path of forced savings through the use of State power. We have tried to bring basic industries, financial institutions and whole-sale wheat trade under public control and to initiate measures for social investment. We aim at growth with social justice.

A different strategy might have yielded increased industrial production and a higher rate of growth but there is no doubt that any approach leading to greater concentration of economic power in private hands would give cause for explosive social tensions and would distort, even disrupt, our entire democratic structure.

Economic development under State initiative have taken us decisively forward towards self-reliance in industry and technology. Although so much noise is made about our socialism, the State sector's present share of the national expenditure in India is still very much lower than in Canada or the United States.

In metals, machine tools and power equipments as well as in railway rolling-stock, ship-building, automobiles, aircraft, telecommunications, electronics, and petroleum refining, our production and indigenous technological capability has increased. We are now able to design and build our own steel mills, fertilizer factories and atomic power stations.

## AGRICULTURE

As in other countries, the development of industry has enabled the modernization of agriculture. Major and medium dams and canal systems have added 24 million acres to the irrigated area and there is a widespread adoption of modern methods of farming, resulting in a doubling of grain production.

This year a bad drought has affected us, along with other countries of Asia and we have suffered a set-back in agricultural output. But we have reached a stage which, given reasonably normal rainfall, reduces imports of grain to the minimum.

## FIFTH PLAN

We are now drawing up the details of our fifth five year plan. Its main thrust is to fill the gaps in self-reliance, promote the social well being of the poorest sections and secure fuller utilisation of capacities already created. Our social programmes will give importance to the provision of house sites for the landless, inputs and credits for the small farmer in rain-poor areas, better housing in slums, more rural electrification, employment schemes for the educated unemployed and greater attention to family planning.

we are also anxious to reduce our need for concessional foreign credits. In the last two decades about a fifth of our expenditure on development has come from aid. Up to 1 May this year, Canada alone has given us a billion dollars. We are grateful for the credits and grants—and we particularly appreciate the fact that Canadian credits have been among the most liberal and least encumbered that we have received. But as our economic base gains strength, our endeavour will be to earn our external resources through trade rather than aid.

In fact one of the tasks before enlightened international leadership is to revise trade policies and practices and reduce the handicaps suffered by developing countries. Any tendency to form rich men's clubs would lead to hardship and bitterness in the developing nations and harmful consequences for the future of the world.

## NATURAL RESOURCES

The majority of the world's peoples live in sordid conditions, deprived of basic necessities. At the same time the sudden fear of affluent nations that tbe earth's resources are fast running out has prompted a reluctance to help the development plans of poor nations. There is no doubt that rates of population growth must be controlled. So must the rate at which advanced societies consume non-renewable resources.

It is known that each individual in an industrially advanced country uses up as much as 20 persons in a developing country. Can nations which took advantage of the earlier industrial revolution assume prospectors' right to the world's air, water and other assets, debarring latecoming? The challenge before human civilization is to develop new norms of satisfaction which would be equitable for all.

Even in the days before we emerged as a sovereign country, we firmly believed that the world's problems should be solved by pooling the wisdom of all nations. Colonialism and racial discrimination are evils which could be fought only by activating the conscience of the world. Poverty is an international problem. The poverty of many nations has been largely the result of colonial exploitation.

## NON-ALIGNMENT

To us, peace and international co-operation appear essential for the removal of poverty. Our foreign policy rejected any hegemony and sought to promote equality, friendship and peaceful co-existence among nations. This policy has been categorized as non-alignment. The negative prefix describe abstention from military blocs. But non-alignment is also a positive connotation. In asserting our right to shape our own policies, we naturally accept the right of others to do so and thus build a base of tolerance and friendship.

Non-alignment was described by some fundamentalists as refusal to make ethical choices. We did make ethical choices ; that is why we were non-aligned. It was difficult to regard the transitory power patterns of the post-war world in terms of moral imperatives. Fortunately, the essentials of non-alignment have at last come to be accepted by others.

The age of crusades seems to be ending—at least outwardly. Detente has attracted powerful adherents. But detente should lead not to compacts for the sharing of power but become the starting point of a new international endeavour to improve the human ambience : be it the removal of poverty, the reduction of terror and violence or the restoration of the purity of our environment.

## INDIA'S FUTURE

We do not seek conventional military strength. We are not interested in becoming a power—major or minor. And certainly not a nuclear power. The founding fathers of our nation asked the question ; can India become a modern nation without sacrificing harmony and human values, without being caught up in the pursuit of possessions ? The answer is : India can and will.

India has given much to human civilization. Even in the dark age of colonial subjection we had men of radiance. A nation which comprises a seventh of mankind must have some contribution to make. It can do some when its millions are given the opportunity of developing their personalities.

Transfer of scientific knowledge has brought with it a strong imitative propensity. Increasing awareness of conditions elsewhere has bred dissatisfaction with conditions at home.

But I see also a tremendous upsurge of confidence and creative endeavour in our young people. The old insights, the conditioning of the last 50 years and the new vigour may yet combine to enable India to map out a distinctive path in human development.

# *Our Homage to*

# *Shri S. M. Kumaramangalam,*

## *Late Union Minister For Steel And Mines*

In the disastrous Boeing accident on May 31, 1973 near Palam, the dynamic promising life of Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam together with other 47 passengers were lost in most tragic circumstances.

Surendra Mohan Kumaramangalam belonged to an illustrious family. His father Dr. P. Subbarayan was a Union Minister and his elder brother Mr. P. P. Kumaramangalam was the Chief of the Army Staff. He was born on Nov. 1, 1916. Mohan Kumaramangalam had his education in Eton and Cambridge and obtained his barristership from the Inner Temple. He came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi at the age of 15 when he visited London in connection with Second Round Table Conference while in Cambridge he alternately became the member of Labour Party and the Communist Party. During the Spanish Civil War he visited Spain. He set up practice in Madras in 1939 and was actively in Politics since then and suffered imprisonments for the cause. Shri Kumaramangalam was appointed Advocate General of Madras in 1966 and Chairman of the Indian Airlines for a short period in 1966-67. It was during his regime that Boeings were introduced in Indian Air Service for the first time. It is an irony of fate that a Boeing disaster ultimately ended his life. Shri Kumaramangalam was elected as MP from Pondichery during the last interim election.

During the short time he was in the Union Cabinet and played a great part in the formation of policies. He is the guiding force behind the passing of the 24th Amendment of the Constitution establishing the sovereign right of Parliament, nationalisation of Coal Industries and establishment of Hindustan Copper Corporation. Appointment of Shri A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by doing away with the time-old practice of seniority caused a great uproar amongst the reactionary group. Shri Mangalam forcefully defended the action and during the last days the question exercised his mind. A phamplet on the issue was published just after his death.

In fact his contribution lay in establishing the supremacy of Parliament as the representative of the people's will, over the judiciary on matters of land. A big impact was made by him by his dedication to the policy of socialist transformation of the economy. His two years in the Central Government were, therefore, very important in the life of the country. India lost the services of a devoted leader whose place will be difficult to fill. We join with thousands and thousands of his contrymen in paying our homage to the departed soul and convey our sincere condolence to Smt. Kalyani Kumaramangalam in her unconsolable distress.

"—Justice Holmes, one of the most famous Judges of the United States, has said that a Constitution can only live by being constitutionally changed by adapting itself to the changing needs of the people of that particular country and a constitution that is unamendable, that is unable to respond to the needs of our people, of any people, such a constitution cannot stand the test of time. It will fall because the people, if they find the constitution standing in their way, will throw it aside, for ultimately it is the people who will determine their own future. They will not allow it to be determined by any narrow small coterie of men."

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# Prime Minister Indira Gandhi In Belgrade

On the invitation of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, paid a state visit to Yugoslavia from 15 to 17 June, 1973.

The Prime Minister of India and her party received a warm and cordial reception reflecting the traditional relations of sincere and deep friendship existing between the two Governments and peoples. In her speech at a bonquet given in her honour on the night of June 15 in Belgrade, Mrs Indira Gandhi said that the Indian Government's objective was a durable relationship, trust, friendship and cooperation among all nations of the Indian sub-continent and Indian neighbourhood. India did not want the Indian sub-continent and South East Asia to be 'an anxiety zone'. "However, if outside arms are inducted into the neighbourhood, it would be difficult to achieve peace or to keep it. While welcoming the detente in Europe and the agreement on Vietnam she emphasised that there could not be any real peace until 'Laos and Cambodia are also brought within the purview of the ceasefire and withdrawal of troops." She referred to the forthcoming conference of heads of States and Governments to be held in Algiers and said,. It must take us nearer to our objectives, namely international peace, equality among nations and a more equitable share of the world's resources for developing countries. In particular it should ensure that relaxation of tensions is not used to camouflage for new spheres of influence." In the luncheon party Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that in Europe the trend was in the direction of relaxation of tension. "The people of Europe have drawn closer economically. We have always welcomed every step towards friendship, cooperation and detente. But we also hope that these various developments will not grow into a new club of the rich which looks after itself from which other countries are excluded and their interest neglected."

President Tito said that the international relations are "as good as we had hoped they would be after the many efforts that have been made to preserve peace and to give the people of the world a sense of relief and to release them from their fears". We do know that great difficulties also exist and we sympathise in this. The President expressed the hope that India would overcome the difficulties which 'still stands in her way'.

A joint communique was issued after the three days visit. In the communique the two sides emphasised, in particular, their readiness to exert further efforts for the increase of mutual trade, and for the diversification of all forms of economic cooperation between them, including joint ventures and cooperation in third markets. Both sides declared their irrevocable support for the freedom, independence and equal rights of all nations and for active international cooperation for peace and progress of all the peoples. In their foreign policies, both States are guided by the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence among States with different social system.

## HOTBEDS OF CONFLICT

Both sides weleomed the trend towards relaxation of international tensions as a result of the unremitting efforts and initiatives of peace-loving forces throughuot the world. Conceran was expressed over the fact tnat there still exist hotbeds of open war conflicts, the use of the policy of force, pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other States threatening thereby peace and security in the world.

The president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia fully appreciated and supported the efforts and initiatives of India aimed at achieving a durable peace and good-neighbourly relations among the States in the region.

Both sides expressed the hope that Bangladesh will soon be enable to take her legitimate place in the UN and other international organisations.

Both sides welcomed the tendency towards relaxation of tension through negotiations, which had led to positive processes in Europe. The trends of the relaxation of tension and solving of problems through peaceful negotiations would also extend to other regions of the world.

Great concern was expressed on the persistence of the crisis in West Asia due to the continued occupation of the Arab territories by Israel and the new attacks against Arab States, which further endangers the situation. Israel should implement the provisions of the Security Council resolution of the 22 November, 1967 and to accept to the proposals for a peaceful settlement with full respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab States as well as for the people of Palestine. The complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab terrtories occupied in 1967 is an important pre-requisite for facilitating settlement. Further concern has been expressed to the fact that peace has not yet been restored in Indo-China. The consistent implementation of the peace agreements in Vietnam and Loas is indispensable. Bombing of Cambodia should be immediately stopped so as to enable the people of Indo-China to realize their legitimate rights to freedom, indepenpence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to decide their future according to their own interests without outside interference.

Both sides stressed the need to strive for general and complete disarmament, covering both nuclear and conventional types of weapons, under strict international control. In this context, they expressed themselves in favour of an early convening of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all countries so as to achieve a realistic and generally acceptable solution of the problems of disarmament.

Both sides declared their support for national liberation movements in colonial territories and called for the speedy and complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in accordance with the UN declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. They resolutely condemned all racist policies and practices as a gross violation of human and fundamental freedoms.

## GROWING GAP

The two sides reiterated the urgent need to take measures for bridging the growing gap between the industrially developed countries and the developing countries, which could constitute a threat to world peace. They expressed the determination of their governments to continue to exert efforts for the full and equitable participation of all countries and, in particular, the developing countries, in resolving world trade, monetary and other economic issues of general significance.

The policy of non-alignment pursued by India and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as an increasing number of independent developing countries, plays an increasingly important role in achieving the above-mentioned objectives and in the development of international cooperation beneficial to all.

Both sides expressed their confidence that at the forthcoming summit conference of non-aligned countries in Algiers, in September 1973. all efforts would be made for the further intensification of mutually, beneficial cooperation among nonaligned countries, with a view to strengthening of peace and security and to the promotion of constructive programmes of action for accelerating the economic growth of developing countries.

# *Prime Minister's Observations*

*Following is the transcript of Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's interview with Australian Broadcasting Commission held here on May 26, 1973. Inter viewer—Colin Parks*

**Question :** Mr. Whitlam is coming to India before he visits the more traditional areas of interest in Asia—Singapore and Malaysia. Why do you think this apparent priority is being given to India.

**Prime Minister :** May I first of all say how delighted we are that Mr. Whitlam and Mrs. Whitlam are coming here so soon after taking over office.

Well, Mr. Whitlam has broken many traditions, hasn't he ? And I saw in one of his statements that he wants to give greater importance to relationship with India, which we certainly welcome very much.

**Question :** What does Australia mean to India ?

**Prime Minister :** Well, it is a friendly country with whom we have no problems. In other spheres too, our Parliament and our courts are often quoting precedents from what happens in Australia. To our younger people, Australia has been a centre of sport and of cricket heroes and now, of course, also of tennis, music and so on. To us, it is a friendly country and one that is important in the region.

**Question :** In 1968 in Canberra you said Australia could act as bridge between developing Asia and the affluent countries of the world. Is Australia doing that ?

**Prime Minister :** You know it is very difficult to judge in that way. But there is a gap between understanding of the affluent nations and developing nations of particular problems, and the richer nations find it very difficult to see the problems from our point of view. We sincerely hope that Australia will help in making things easier for trade, for instance, for the developing nations. Australia has done something with regard to tariff but it is marginal probably.

**Question :** You believe it could do more.

**Prime Minister :** I think so, yes.

**Question :** Mr. Whitlam has doposed the establishment of a regional forum of Asian and Pacific powers, free from ideological overtones. He proposes that it should include China and Japan. What are India's views on such an organisation ?

**Prime Minister :** We are always for any kind of economic cooperation but we have kept out of any defence or security groupings because we feel that rather than solve anything, sometimes they create a reaction and then tensions grow. But I would not like to comment on this until I know more about it and perhaps have talk with the Prime Minister.

**Question :** Australia's change of governments has led to some significant changes in foreign policy. How does India view these changes ?

**Prime Minister :** We think they are good changes especially in so far as India is concerned. That is, you said a little while ago yourself that Mr. Whitlam is coming to India first. And we have always wanted friendship with Australia and closer relations and we have Australia not as a part of Asia, part of something but a continent in itself with its own interests and I believe that Australia's interests are tied up with Asia as well as the Pacific region.

**Question :** Australia is seeking a relationship with China—more or less a special relationship. Is this worrying India ?

**Prime Minister :** No. We think that it was wrong to ignore China all these years and I think many problems may not have become so acute, had a more realistic attitude been taken earlier.

**Question :** How are India's relations with China now ?

**Prime Minister :** Well, as you know we never broke off diplomatic relations and we would like normalisation of relations. The Chinese sometimes tell us that they would also, but they have been consistenly taking an anti-India stand on many occasions and on many issues and we can only say that we hope that they will also face the realities of Asia and that how necessary it is for all of us to work together. Most of us face common problems and nothing is solved by having a provocative attitude or to create tension of any kind.

**Question :** Both India and Australia now share a common view on the Indian Ocean that it should be a zone of peace and neutrality. Is such a proposal feasible ?

**Prime Minister :** Well, I don't see why not. You know the matter has been taken up in the United Nations and a group of experts is studying. That is what can be done. But I think that if all the countries speak up clearly that they do not want foreign presence, it might help.

**Question :** Do you see any contradiction in Australia's attitude to the Indian Ocean bearing in mind that there are American Naval installations in Australia ?

**Prime Minister :** I think that is a matter of Australian policy on which I would not like to comment.

**Question :** But you think that it contradicts the attitude of zone of neutrality.

**Prime Minister :** That is for them.

**Question :** India is undoubtedly the closest to Russia of all the nations bordering the Indian ocean. What do you believe to be India's intentions in the area ?

**Prime Minister :** India's intentions ?

**Question :** I beg your pardon. I repeat the question. India is undoubtedly the closest to Russia of all the nations bordering the Indian Ocean. What do you believe to be Russia's intentions in the area ?

**Prime Minister :** I don't think they have any intentions other than peaceful. It is true we are friends with Soviet Union. They have helped us economically and for many years it was the only country which supported our industrial development in the public sector which we think is very important for our progress and stability. We formalised this friendship in the shape of a Treaty but it is not at all a military treaty, nor does it have any kind of military overtones, nor does it come in the way of friendship with any other country. I think the whole policies of spheres of influence and balance of power—this is what creates tension and if one country feels that others are doing it, then they also try to do it. But India has always kept out of all this and as you know we have not given and we do not intend to give any bases to any foreign force, including the Soviet.

**Question :** Nevertheless Russia does have a presence in the Indian Ocean which could lead to another power perhaps trying to match it. Has India tried to persuade Russia to stay away from the area ?

**Prime Minister :** Well, our attitude and our policy is the same with regard to all nations and if there is a Russian presence a little bit now, it is not due to India in any way, nor is it the first country to come there. There are other presences also.

"Human history does not run a smooth course. The nations of Asia and Africa and other non-aligned nations must remain on their guard. We feel that non-alignment continues to be valid and that despite moves for detente, military machines have not been disbanded. Despite the efforts to reach an agreement, pressures on smaller nations have not abated. So long as certain countries wish to follow a policy of balance of power and to extend their spheres of influence nations like ours must stand with the resolve to pursue an independent foreign policy and to seek friendship and to safeguard our national personality".

*—INDIRA GANDHI*

# Social Policy Guidelines
# Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes

Smt. Indira Gandhi

Our country has been plagued with many ills. The greatest, the deepest, the longest with us has been that of poverty. But even poverty, we know in nuequal in the sense that although many people are poor, some people have had to suffer many indignities and different types of oppression and atrocities through the ages during our Independence struggle. Mahatma Gandhi laid the greatest stress on removing the social blot on our society and in fact he gave it equal importance with the removal of slavery or of foreign rule. He rightly equated this also as a kind of domination of one section of the people over another which was equally harmful for the progress of society, for the unity and strength of the country, as was foreign rule, and that is why great importance was given to this matter. But I think that we, perhaps, relaxed too soon. Just because we mentioned certain things in the Constitution, it was perhaps felt that our task had been completed. So, after many years we find that although certain steps have been taken, opportunities which were not there before have been opened out, but these are not in the measure proportionate to large number of people who are affected. While there is any section in our country which feels deprived and is deprived, we cannot feel that we have achieved our task, or that India has reached a level of achievemnet'and progress which is essential.

I have been quoted as saying that any group who wants something must work for it themselves. Now this is obvious, but at the same time it is the duty of all Indians to regard this as a major national programme. I don't think that any section of the population can afford to ignore the needs of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward sections, nor could regard it as a programme for just one section. What has be done has to be done certainly from the point of view of humanity, from the point of view of bringing greater equality in our society, but fundamentally because while any section is deprived, it is the nation that is deprived, and if this nation is to be united and strong—and I hope that all parties stand for this above every thing else—then it is our duty to give the greatest and the the most urgent attention to the problems of those who have been oppressed and who still do not have the full opportunities.

Opportunities, of course, are of many kinds and we know that although in theory many opportunities, are available and also that some people have been able to avail of those opportunities, we know that the task before those people is more difficult whether it is employment or any other opportunity, they have to work perhaps much harder, to try much harder to get that. This is true of all those sections of people who have suffered in any society, and of course it is part of the inequality which exists in society. But I only believe that we should try and use adversity as an opportunity and therefore, although the situation is so far from satisfactory for the whole nation, it gives an opportunity for us to work together for something that is very worthwhile to face a challenge that is tremendous in its size, size as far as the problem is concerned, the number of people involved, It is a tremendous challenge and if we can meet this challenge, it will be a very great victory for a country as a whole. I believe it is only in meeting challenges that one's own strength grows. So, while there are only difficulties that we must try and meet them, some together and some one by one, I don't think it is a situation in which we need to dispel. It is a situation which needs tremendous hard work and effort. It means efforts by the Government at the Centre and in the States. It means efforts by the political parties not only to see that certain programmes are implemented, that is important in itself, but to create the right atmosphere in the public because ultimately it is the neighbour whose attitude affect anybody. However many laws we may have, if we are unable to change the attitude of mind in a particular neighbourhood, we will not be able to eliminate the sufferings of these people. So, along with the laws of the special schemes for development—economic development, opportunities for education, for training, for employment--a special effort should be made to see that not only the posts which are reserved should be filled, but even beyond that, those that are not reserved there should be a constant effort to see that the people are helped in any way. But all these are essentials and they should be looked at and studied, but beyond this, as I said that there must be a major campaign to see that this attitude which exists in our society must be wiped out. This I would again put it not as a human problem, but as a national problem, something that is essential to the growth, unity, strength of our nation. Unless we look at it that way, I think that the programmes will not succeed. But any scheme that only touches some people, it must be a growing number of peaple whom you reach, whom you help. But it cannot be all the Schedued Castes and all the Scheduled Tribes. That problem can only be solved if there is a change of attitude in society. When those who feel like us, who feel strongly on these problems are able to direct our nation and set in the way that anybody who indulges in any kind of discrimination, that person should be made to suffer in the society. By 'suffering' it does not necessarily mean that you arrest a person. Certainly you can arrest a person in a society, but there should be an attitude of mind in society that this kind of discrimination will not be tolerated in society itself. Previously, you know, when there was any social function, some castes were allowed and some were not allowed. Perhaps, even within a caste when something was done to break the caste rule, that person was not allowed. For instance, I can give my own example. After my marriage I was not allowed to attend any kind of function of the community because it was thought that there was a deliberate violation of the community rule and therefore I had no right. I am not complaining. But I am only saying that we should have this in reverse that anybody who indulges in any kind of casteism specially against a certain people and who thinks that he is superior and so on, should be made to feel that this is an anti-national sentiment and therefore, society will not tolerate it.

This is not easy to do and in all these years, we have not really succeeded. We still hear in villages and even in cities, even in offices, the discrimination is sometimes exhibited. But if we are all alert and if in every place such a thing is brought to the notice at once—what happens is sometimes we say this has been happening here. Now it becomes difficult. If something is happening, it is very difficult, but you can still catch hold of it but if the minute something happens our attention is immediately drawn, I think we will be able to deal with it in a far more effective manner.

What is most dangerous in any society is for people to accept a situation themselves. What has happened in India is that for hundred years, a situation was accepted. Some people say : Yes, this is a bad situation but they do not do any thing further about it. It is this mentality which you can help to change, that is if something is bad, it must be combated with all the strength and with all the resources at our disposal and also that just because something has been there, that is no reason why it should be tolerated. And this new atmosphere, new way of thinking is very much part of the social and economic revolution to which we are pledged. In fact, no programme has any meaning if we cannot bring a better deal to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and amongst them also. Unfortunately, you see amongst them also, there is a feeling that some people take advantage of a particular scheme or a project and other people do not. I hope that here in your seminar you will perhaps give attention to this that how when any scheme is to be implemented we see that the benefit goes to those who, in any section even, are the poorest whether it is within the scheduled castes, whether it is within the scheduled tribes or any other group. It is only then that we will be able to work towards equality which is our aim in this country and without which they—cannot amount to anything even if we do change the economic situation to some extent.

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# The Humanism of Tagore

## Hiranmay Banerjee

Humanism connotes a view which puts human welfare as the central point of interest. As applied to religion, it displaces God and prescribes service of man as the ideal form of religious practice.

Humanism can be of two types. There is the positivistic type as evolved in the thoughts of August Comte and there is type which links humanism with religion. Comte's positivistic attitude prevents him from discovering any touch of divinity in the universe and so, understandably, he lost interest in God. He, therefore, discarded God altogether and put man instead on his pedestal and advocated worship of great men and service of men in general as the best form of religious practice. Western humanism thus stems from scientific agnosticism and develops a prejudice against religion.

The other type of humanism resolves the opposition between God and man by humanising God. It is an idea which is quite familiar to Indian thought. *Naranarayana* is a concept with which even the common man is familiar in India. It identifies service of man with service of God. Another similar term is *Daridranarayana* which identifies God with the underprivileged. The first line of the *Isha* Upanishad preaches ideas which contain the seed of this type of humanism. It enjoins that we should practice enjoyment with moderation, lest we deprive others of a share of it, because all human beings are closely related as the manifestation of the same divinity. The pervasive character of the divinity provides the inspiration for cultivating altruistic virtues.

The humanism advocated by Tagore took its birth from a similar line of thought. It marks however, the culmination of a long history recording how he realised himself spiritually. This history is recorded in his biographical articles, philosophical dissertations and his poetry in particular, because his poetry records the spontaneous overflow of his spiritual thoughts and feelings. To cut the matter short however, we propose to limit ourselves to the last chapter of this history.

Brought up in the tradition of a highly pious family whose head had founded Brahmoism, Tagore initially developed an intense attraction for the monotheistic form of worship. No wonder, at one stage of his life he turned out an intensely God-intoxicated man. His personal view of God at this stage of his life is reflected in his concept of *Jivan Devata*, where God is conceived as a person, taking his seat in the inner recess of his mind and 'seeking his best expression in all the Poet's experiences, uniting them into an ever-widening individuality'. He felt that this personal God as the lord of his life, not only reciprocated the Poet's love, but also controlled his activities. This is conceived as the union of the *Sima* (the bounded soul of the Poet)with the *Asim* (the unbounded one). This theme provides the inspiration of three of his entire books of poems, namely the *Gitanjali*, the *Gitimalya* and the *Gitali*.

Tagore, however, had a feeling that religious practice should provide satisfaction not only to the emotional facutly. but also to the intellectual faculty and the urge for service through action. The concept of *Jivan Devata* does not satisfy that test, for it cannot satisfy the urge to serve God. The difficulty lies in the fact that God is nowhere manifest in physical form to be capable of receiving service in the physical sense. It is out of this disappoinment that Tagore's humanism was born.

He, therefore, concluded that is not possible for us to exchange feelings of love with inanimate objects like water, 'land and planets and what is more important, our welfare activities bear no connection with them'. In this context he observes:

"Our rights are satisfied to the full extent possible, only when our faculty of knowledge, love and work can give expression to all our latent powers. That is why there is no other way to fulfil our right to establish contact with God simultaneously through knowledge, love and service, except through humanity." (1)

Tagore argues that since God is a pervading power and can nowhere be located physically as a separate entity, the best way to establish contact with Him is through that aspect of His manifestation which makes the closset approach to man, which is evidently as man. To develop his point he draws an analogy as follows:

"Just as a mother is most intimate to and most directly in contact with her child in her relation as mother, while her other diverse relations with the world are unknown and unusable to him, similarly God is manifest to man in His truest and most intimate form in humanity ; it is through such relation that we know Him, love Him and other service to Him." (2)

At this stage of his spiritual development Tagore read no sense in offering prayers in temples and churches as he found the God of his heart not there, but among humanity at large, plying their commonplace vocations outside such sanctuaries. It was under the spell of this inspiration that Tagore observed ;

"Come out of thy meditation and leave aside the flowers and incense. What harm is there, if thy clothes become tattered and stained? Meet him and stand by him in toil and in the sweat of thy brow." (3)

He, therefore, concluded that the best way to serve God is to adopt mankind in general as the object of service. Through a further process of reasoning, he developed the idea that God is served best, if service is given to the poorer and underprivileged class, because service is needed most by them. So he recommends that God should be sought not among the richer classes, but among those who are the poorest of the poor. This thought forms the inspiration of the following lines, which form part of a devotional song composed by the poet :

> "Here is thy footstool and there rest thy feet where live the poorest and the lowliest and the lost.
>
> When I try to bow to thee, my obeisance cannot reach down the depth where thy feet rest among the poorest and the lowliest and the lost." (4)

Tagore, therefore, concluded that disinterested work promoting the welfare of mankind in general and the underprivileged classes in particular, become the best way to satisfy the urge to love and serve God. According to him, any action that is conducive to general welfare is good for this purpose, no matter whether it is of big consequence or not. A servant of God of should turn a universal worker or *Visva-karma*' because he works for all. Let us hear him in his own words :

"In order to be united with Him, we have to divest our work of selfishness and becomes *Visva-karma*, the world worker, we must work for all. When I use the word 'for all' I do not mean for a countless number of individuals. All work that is good, however small in extent is universal in character. Such work makes for realisation of a *Visva-karma* who works for all." (5)

Tagore's urge for serving God thus found its own outlet by humanising God. He accepted disinterested service of mankind in general and of the underprivileged classes in particular, as the most acceptable form of religious practice. In the process, humanism is raised to the respectability of a new form of religion which can command universal appeal. It humanises God and proclaims that service of man is also service of Cod.

Unlike western humanism which is disconnected with religion and is fostered in an atmosphere of antagonism with it, Tagore's humanism thus reconciles their opposition by adopting it as the best expression of the religious urge. This distinctive quality definitely work to its advantage. The fact that it draws inspiration from piety converts it into a more effective instrument of social service than positivistic humanism. By treating service to man as service to God it intensifies the urge for service and works as a tremendous driving force. The reason is not far to seek. The religious feeling is both universal and strong and from it stems an urge to offer service to God. If this is harnessed to the cause of services to man, it becomes a much stronger inspiration than the one that comes from mere love of fellow beings. That provides the explanation why the monks of the Ramakrishna Mission have proved themselves to be the social workers in our country. In this type of humanism man becomes the object of love and service, not in his own right alone, but also as the manifestation of God where He is closest toman.

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(1) Dharma (2) Ibid (3) English Gitanjali
(3) Ibid (5) Religion of Man, Spiritual Union

**I have pictured to myself an India continually progressing along the lines best suited to genious.**

*—Mahatma Gandhi*

# Leonid Brezhnev's Visit to Washington

*Correspondent*

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev, visited the United States at the invitation of the President Richard Nixon and arrived in Washington on June 18. The official welcoming ceremony was held on the White House South Lawn where Leonid Brezhnev was welcomed by Richard Nixon, US Secretary of State William Rogers and other officials as well as the Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin and the Soviet representative to the UNO. Yakov Mailk.

A guard of honour was lined up and the national anthems of the two countries played on the White House South Lawn where Leonid Brezhnev arrived by helicopter from Camp David An artilery salute of 21 salvoes was fired and the national flags of the USSR and the USA hoisted.

In his speech Leonid Breznev said that they had covered a long way from Moscow to Washington. Their capitals lie about ten thousand kilometeres apart, but politics had their own notions of relativity not mentioned in Einstein's theory. "He said Distances between countries are becoming shorter not only because we travel in modern planes by a regularly used route but also because we have one great common aim, that of ensuring a lasting peace for the peoples of our countries and strengthening security on our planet.

A year ago, we made together a big step in this direction. The results of our first meeting laid a good, sound basis for relations of peace between our countries.

Already then we shared the view that by relying on this basis we must move further ahead. A good start was made in this respect in the past year. Now we regard our visit to the United States and the forthcoming meetings with you as an expression of the mutual determination to make a new contribution to the work we have begun together."

Earlier, welcoming the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, President Nixon said that the progress to which last year's American-Soviet talks in Moscow have led may well be regarded as as a landmark in modern history. "This summit meeting which begins today offers the United States and the Soviet Union a change to carry on construction work on the foundation of cooperation and peace which they began laying a year ago", he continued.

The US President said that the American people heard with great interest Leonid Brezhnev's recent statement that "on the whole, it may be said, perhaps, that our planet is now nearer to a stable lasting peace that it was at any time before." President Nixon said he thought that the Soviet-American talks in Moscow had brought this goal nearer and that in the past year American-Soviet contacts had taken them still farther in this direction.

After the official ceremony Leonid Brezhnev and Richard Nixon went to the White House.

The United States and the Soviet Union signed on June 19, our agreements ratifying the decisions of President Nixon and Leonid Breznev, the Communist Party Chief, to strengthen the peaceful relations they established at the Moscow summit a year ago. Three accords on cooperation in the fields of research in agriculture, transportation and oceanography, and another expanding cultural and scientific exchanges. A five year agreement signed Agriculture called for the regular exchange of information, including forward estimate on production, consumption, demand and trade of major agricultural commodities. It also provided for increased cooperation in plant and animal research. soil science farm mechanisation and so on. The agreement on cultural and scientific exchanges replaced annual accords and is to remain in force until the end of 1979.

Breznev's visit is a reflection of a historic shift in world affairs and evidence of new victories for the policy of peaceful existence between governments of different social and economic system. This visit will help strengthen world peace.

Every towards controlling and defusing of the world's nuclear stockpile is in the best self interest of every living thing the world over. Gain for peace serves the cause of progress, strengthen the anti-imperialist forces and is in the best self interests of the peoples fighting for national liberation. Leonid Breznev's visit to the United States will give a new powerful impetus to progress of Soviet-US relations towards peace and cooperation, and in turn in relations for thebenefit and good of both the people and the whole world.

# Azad Hind in the Making (35)

## Netaji's Headquarters at Bangkok (2) Armed Struggle to Continue

**DEBNATH DAS**

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Plan for continuing India's war of liberation siezed the mind of Netaji. The Indian National Army had one clear objective, that is an armed revolution under the leadership of Netaji. Army personnel did not suffer from frustration, despite terrible set backs and losses. Netaji's vision was as crystal clear as revolutionary. Our Armed Forces thought of new strategy in the event of the end of war finding Britain and America victorious. The office of the Indian independence League Head quarters was geared up accordingly. Shadow of withdrawal from Burma did not cast any gloom over minds of workers.

The following steps were taken up :

1. To work amongst the Indian personnel in the British Indian Army and Royal Indian Navy in Rangoon and in such areas as were reoccupied by enemy.

2. To infiltrate into India with the help of such Indian personnel of the British Indian army and the Royal Indian Navy, as were found sympathetic to India's cause.

3. To contact Indian revolutionaries in India, demobbed workers of war industries in the event of end of war and such youngmen who were recruited on temporary commission during war period and were to be released when war exigency ended.

While evacuating from Burma a series of pockets was established with local Indian civilians who joined the Indian National Army but were released at the time of withdrawal from areas concerned. They were to make liaison betwee nour secret service groups to take up the task of contacting Indian personnel of advancing British Indian Army. From Thailand contact with these personnel was made through Mochi Mines and Thai-Burma frontiers.

During our retreat from Imphal, Kohima and Akyab fronts such groups were posted at different points to work amongst the rank and file of British Indian Army during its advance. At Maymyo, Mandalay, Pynmina, Maubin, Pegu, Moulmein, these groups consisted of shopkeepers' labourers, farmers, vendors, hoawkers, hotel and restaurants, attendants and students. All these personnel were Indian residents who joined either the Indian National Army or served in various branches of the Indian Independence League Headquarters. Moreover, boys and girls who formed BAL SENA were very active in preaching the message of Netaji and Azad Hind to Indian personnel of the British Indian Army whenever these personnel came out of barracks or camps for shopping or stroll. Boys and girls would gather and sing I.N.A. songs and give short simple lectures in their own way in edlogizing Netaji and I.N.A. officers and soldiers of British Indian Army enjoyed it and by the time they advanced to Rangoon most of the personnel of the British Indian Army could get an idea of the image of Netaji and of the hypnotism of the Indian National Army that cast its spell upon all sections of Indians in Burma.

Rangoon was recaptured by enemy on May 1, 1945. There was no resistance on our side. When enemy troops marched through streets in Rangoon they heard slogans : "Inquilab Zindabad", "Azad Hind Zindabad", "Netaji Zindabad" echoing and reechoing every where. The commander of the occupation troops could not tolerate it. He ordered I.N.A. troops for fatigue—duties which included the cleaning the debris from the streets of Rangoon Major General Loganathan who was Netaji's representative in Burma protested and ordered that not a single soldier of the Indian National Army would go for fatigue-duty. Meanwhile, men and women, boys and girls of Indian community in Rangoon strongly protested and marched through streets of Rangoon with slogans of Azad Hind though all demonstrations were prohibited. They made it clear to occupation troops that they would defend the honour of Indian National Army and Netaji at the cost of their lives. The Commander found folly in his order and had to withdraw it.

Netaji's instruction was that the Indian National Army could surrender independent of Japanese Army. General Logonathan strongly maintained it inspite of all threats and provocations. He made it clear to the British commander that under no circumstances I.N.A. personnel would surrender along with Japanese Army since I N.A. was the Armed wing of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which was still functioning with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as Head of the State. General Loganathan sent a firm message to the British commander of occupation Forces in Burma to the effect that in case any force was applied by the latter against I.N.A. personnel to surrender along with Japanese Army all I.N.A. officers and men would strongly resist with all the arms and amunitions they had in their possession even at the cost of their lives.

The British Commander had to come down eventually. I. N. A. contingents in various barracks and camps laid down arms independently of Japanese army only when General Loganathan passed orders. All I. N. A. officers and men kept the dignity of the Azad Hind Government and aimed high to keep up the image of Netaji. One instance amongst many may be mentioned. In course of negotiation for surrender Col. Thimaya of the British Indian Army was sent to I. N. A. Head Quarters at Rangoon to negotiate with Major General Loganathan. He was received by I.N.A.'s Col. Thimaya who was second-in-Command of our troops in Burma. Both Thimayas are own brothers. Destiny placed them in opposite camps. They met after long years. Our Col. Thimaya did not express any sentiment to his elder brother, greeted him with Jai Hind and asked him to sit and enquired about the purpose of his visit. When told that he (Col. Thimaya) wanted to meet Major General Loganathan for surrender of I.N.A. troops our Col. Thimaya remarked that according to convention a sitting could be arranged between General Loganathan and an officer not below the rank of Major general of the British Army to represent occupation forces. Col. Thimaya realised the depth of convention and integrity of patriotic spirit of Col. Thimaya of the Indian National Army. The former could not meet General Loganathan and arranged a meeting between Major General Loganathan and a Major General of the British Army representing the occupation force to negotiate on instrument of surrender.

A date and time was fixed. Officers and men of our armed forces saluted the national flag, sang the National Anthem of the Azad Hind Government before laying down arms. Even in captivity all officers and men kept their moral stature high and maintained highest integrity of national character as true and devoted soldiers of Indian's war of liberation inspite of all torture, insults and provocations by the enemy. Netaji issued the following statement from Bangkok on May 17, 1945 :

Information that has reached us from reliable sources in Burma goes to show that vindictive and brutal treatment is being meted out to officers and men of the Azad Hind Fouz (Indian National Army) who have been captured by the Anglo-Americans in Burma. As the whole world knows the Anglo-Americans—and, in particular, the British, have always been in the habit of condemning Germany and Japan for their supposed ill treatment of Anglo-American prisoners of war. But I would now like to ask what the Anglo-Americans are themselves doing with the members of the Azad Hind Fouz who happened to fall into their hands in Burma. Though the Allied Forces in Burma belong to several nationalities, the responsibility as regards the ill treatment of officers and men of the Azad Hind Fouz devolves solely on the British authorities. The British authorittes can not even invent the excuse that we ill treated their troops who fell into our hands. The only allied troops who fell into our hands voluntarily came and joined the Azad Hind Fouz. And even the Delhi Radio admitted some days ago that all those who joined the Azad Hind Fouz received good treatment.

It may be that the British authorities think that we are not in a position to retaliate and they can, therefore, do with our officers and men what they like. But I would like to warn the British authorities that that is not the case. If we are forced to do so, we can find ways and means for adopting retaliatory measures, in case they continue to ill treat and persecute the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fouz. But before we are forced to think of retaliatory measure, there is one remedy measures, there is one remedy open to us, which is not only efficacious but also easy. If our countrymen at home take up this matter and carry on a raging and tearing campaign inside India, I am absolutely sure that the British authorities will be brought to their senses and will see the error of their ways. Public opinion in India may not be strong enough to force the British to concede to India, but it is certainly strong enough to stop the ill treatment and persecution of members of the Azad Hind Fouz who have become prisoners of war at the hands of the British. Members of the Azad Hind Fouz are honest patriots and revolutionaries fighting for the freedom of their motherland. They, no doubt fought bravely and stubbornly against the British, but they fought with clean hands and with a clear conscience. They are, therefore, entitled to decent treatment during captivity, in accordance with international usage and convention. Consequently, I appeal to my countrymen at home to take up the cause of their own prisoners of war who fought for India's liberation and who are now receiving brutal and vindictive treatment at the hands of the British. I appeal to them also to compel the British authorities to divulge correct information about the fate of these prisoners of war, so that the world may judge how far the British themselves observe the rules and canons of international warfare to which they pay so much lip-homage.

Netaji issued (6) another statement from Bangkok on May 22, 1945 :

"I cannot, at this stage, issue a final or comprehensive statement on the situation in Burma for the simple reason that fighting is still going on in several parts of Burma in which troops of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) are engaged. But there is one remark that I can make without any hesitation. Whatever victories have been achieved by the Allied forces in Burma have been due more to the British Indian Army than to any other section of the Allied forces. In the spring of last year, when we were fighting on Indian soil, it was the British Indian Army, more than any body else, who barred the way to Imphal, to Calcutta and to Delhi. Likewise, this year also, it is the British Indian Army, more than anybody else that has been responsible for the victories hitherto achieved by the Allied forces inside Burma. For us who have been fighting for the liberation of our Motherland,—and, incidentally, for the defence of independent Burma—it has been the most tragic experience to find ourselves thwarted by our own countrymen in the British Indian Army who are themselves in their own country.

"In the midst of this tragic experience, there is, however, one small consolation. Uptill now the British Indian Army has been told day after day, by our British oppressors that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Azad Hind Fouz had been working and fighting not as patriots and revolutionaries, but as puppets of a foreign power. In fact the Azad Hind Fouz had been nick named by our enemies as Japanese Imperial Force or JIF. Now members of the British Indian Army and other Indians who have come into Burma along side of the British, will see with their own eyes something of the work of the Provisional Government of Free India and of the heroic fight put up by India's Army of Liberation against tremendous odds. The effect of this experience on the British Indian Army in the first place and on the people inside India later on, will become more and more apparent as the days roll by. Already a change is noticeable in the utterances of enemy propagandists. In recent days, the enemy radio has been referring to the Azad Hind Fouz, not as the "puppet Army" as before. but as the "Japanese Inspired Indian National Army".

"Though we have suffered losses in men and materials during a campaign of fifteen months. our strength as well as our confidence in our ultimate victory remains unimpaired. Marshal Foch, the supreme commander of the Allied Forces in the last European war once made a historic remark that "That army is beaten which considers itself to be beaten". I am happy and proud to be able to say that no member of the Azad Hind Fouz today feels that he has been beaten. We feel no doubt that we have lost the first round but many more rounds are to follow. Believing in the justice of our cause, and being fully prepared to pay the price of liberty we feel that we are invincible. One of the fathers of the science of modern war fare, the German General and writer Clausewitz, once said : 'War has many surprises'. The first surprise in this war has been the defeat of Germany, but there are more surprises in store for the world, and some of them will not be welcome to our enemies. Under the leadership of its own Government, the Azad Hind Fouz will carry on the fight against the Anglo-Americans whatever and whenever they are met. "Chalo Delhi" will continue to be the war cry of this Army, for the roads to Delhi are many, like the roads to Rome. Meanwhile, we shall continue to follow with the closest interest the ever-changing world situation, and we shall take the fullest advantage of it.

"I earnestly appeal to my country men inside India and outside to cherish the same optimism about our final victory as we do here. If our enemies could carry on the struggle inspite of the terrible reverses they suffered in Europe and in Asia between 1939 and 1942, there is no reason why we should not have at least the same degree of courage, tenacity and fortitude as our enemies—particularly when we are fighting for a cause that is just and sacred. If it took the British full one hundred years—from 1757 to 1857—to finally subjugate India, it should be no surprise to any body if we have to fight for a few years in order to expel them from the soil of our Motherland.

"While, on the one hand, our task here has become more difficult because of the support given to our enemies by our countrymen in the British Indian Army, the responsibility of our countrymen at home has increased proportionately. Our countrymen at home have to make more sacrifices in future than they have done in the past. We shall also have to establish closer contact between the Movement inside the country and outside than hitherto.

"One word more, and I shall close for the present. While it is all right to agitate for India's independence at the San Francisco Conference and at similar conference that will be held in future, the Indian people should not labour under any illusion as to what India may get out of such conferences. We should not forget that after the last world war, the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic could not get a hearing at the Peace conference at Versailles inspite of the fact that the vast majority of the American people supported the Irish demand for Independence. Consequently, the Indian people at home and abroad should resolve to stand on their own legs and to achieve their national salvation through their own effort, sacrifice and blood-firm in the belief that India shall be free and before long."

The European situation was reviewed by him in the following statement, issued from Bangkok on May 22, 1945 :

"The war situation in Europe developed with dramatic suddenness during the last week of April and first week of May. Though it was apparent to every observer since the beginning of this year that the German armed forces would not be able to hold out for an indefinite period, no body could predict how and when the end would come. The courage. tenacity and fortitude with which the armed forces of Germany fought till the moment of Herr Hitler's death, must compel the admiration of the whole world. In my own view, the defeat of Germany was not a military but a political one. It was the foreign policy of Germany *vis-a-vis* Soviet Russia and other countries that was fundamentally responsible for the military disaster which has now overtaken the German nation. One of the blunders committed by the German Government in the realm of foreign policy was the total disregard of Bismarc's advice to the German nation never to fight on two fronts.

The turning point in European affairs came in 1940 when M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, visited Berlin. That was the hour when German statesmanship should have risen to its fullest height and reached an understanding with Soviet Russia by any means. If Bismarc had been alive, he would have done that. But unfortunately for the German nation, just as faulty statemanship was responsible for their defeat in the first world war, so also it has been responsible for their defeat in the present war.

The problem that should now engage the attention of every student of international affairs is as to what will happen to Europe in future. On this point my views are perfectly clear and I firmly adhere to what I have consistently said in the past—namely that the collapse of Germany will be signal for the outbreak of an acute conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans. The whole world knows that the war aims of Soviet Russia are quite different from those of Anglo-Americans. The Soviet Gevernment knows that the defeat of Germany has been due first and foremost to the people and armed forces of Soviet Union. Consequently, the Soviet Government being conscious of its strength will never give in to the Anglo-American powers in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. The truth of this remark has been already exemplified at San Francisco where the conference virtually resulted in a fiasco when M. Molotov left that city. The San Francisco conference is only a precursor of the events that are to follow in the domain of European affairs.

Europe now stands at the cross-roads of History. Prior to the outbreak of the present war, the affairs of Europe were in a chaotic condition, with the big powers pulling in different directions. Germany, however, had a plan for the re-organisation of Europe, and during the last five years she endeavoured to work out that plan. Now, with the collapse of Germany that plan has come to nought. In post-war Europe, there is only one other Power that has a plan which is worth giving a trial ; and that power is Soviet Russia. The only plan if we call it a plan—which Britain can have is to maintain the Balance of Power in Europe in her own selfish interest, with the help of France and possibly of the United States. That plan will never be accepted by the European nations. So far as the United States are concerned, however keen and ambitious they may be to establish the "American Century" in world history, they will never succeed in controlling the affairs of Europe from across the Atlantic. Moreover, neither Britain nor the United States of America, who are capitalist imperialist countries, can produce a plan of social reconstruction which will be acceptable to the nations of Europe. Consequently we come to the conclusion that there is no other alternative for the nations of Europe than to give a trial to the experiment that has proved to be eminently successful within the Soviet Union. No doubt, Britain and America—and, perhaps Britain more than America—will do everything in their power to thwart and frustrate Soviet Plans for the reconstruction of Europe. But these attempts are bound to fail, primarily because during the last five years public opinion all over Europe has swung so violently to the "left" that after the collapse of National Socialist Germany, no Government and no social order can endure which is not fundamentally "leftist" in characters. So far as Germany's future is concerned we have to remember that the National Socialist Government, during a period of twelve years, virtually destroyed the old capitalist regime. The only alternative before the German people, therefore, seems to be a socialist order of a radical type which will be on friendly terms with the Soviet Union. Whether this development will actually take place depends on how Germany will be treated by the Allied Powers. If Germany is not humiliated and is not made to nurse a desire of national revenge, it is inevitable that there will be a peaceful revolution from National Socialist trend. If humiliated the German people will be drowned for the time being, but we shall see once again the seeds of an ultra-nationalist revival which may prove to be the starting point of another European war—and perhaps, of World War III. If there is one man in Europe today who holds in his hands the destinies of the European nations for the next few decades, that man is Marshal Stalin. The whole world—and, above all Europe—will, therefore, follow with breathless anxiety the moves of the Soviet Union in the days to come.

In this hour of Germany's sorrow, I can not help reiterating, on behalf of the Indian people and myself my heartfelt gratitude to the German people and nation for the sympathy and support that they gave us in our struggle for Freedom.

*(To be continued)*

# Asanulla Khan Murder

## An Autobiographical Sketch

**Haripada Bhattacharya**

*(Translated from the Original Bengali)*

The first four decades of the twentieth century full of brutal repressions and tyranny of the imperialist British Govt. had reached its climax. Youngmen of Bengal knew that harder the chains of oppression, sooner would be the liberation of the Motherland. The whole of Bengal rose like a man. The partition of Bengal added fuel to the fire. Liberation struggle of Bengal became irresistible. Living inspiration of leaders like Arabindo, Barin Ghosh, Upendra Banerjee, Jatindra Nath and Masterda, coupled with the martyrdom of Khudiram. Profulla Chaki and others awoke the people not only of the urban areas but also of the villages of Bengal. The historic struggle of Jatindra Nath and his colleagues on the banks of the Buri Balam, Chittagong Armoury raid under the leadership of Masterda, the heroic battle at Jalalabad were the fruitful expression of this awakening. Every house—nay every room of Chittagong was converted into a fortress and blows were being hurled against oppressors with unmistakable surity. Just at that juncture Khan Bahadur Asanulla was sent to Chittagong armed with special powers to raze the battlements to the ground.

A reign of terror began. Thousands of youngmen and students were arrested. Inhuman tortures were inflicted on them in the cells. At homes untold oppression were carried on mothers and sisters to the arrested persons. It is impossible to describe these intolerable oppressions and repressions in words. One day while plucking flowers in the morning I saw Asanulla Khan marching with a few hundred soldiers. Unfortunatly a girl named Parul began at that time to sing from a neighbouring house a famous Nazrul song.

"Durgam Giri Kantar Maru......".

Khan Saheb was enraged and on entering the house thrashed mercilessly every inmate irrespective of whether one was a male or a female, a boy or a girl. Due to severe beatingParul lost her life. Ambikada was arrested and subjected to brutal tortures. He most pathetically asked for some water but instead of that he was given a glassful of urine under instruction from Asanulla. But in spite of his campaign of inhuman tyranny, he was unable to subdue the power of Chittagong youths. Masterda, Nirmal Sen and Tarakeshwar Dastidar held a conference and passed a judgement on Asanulla Khan, sentencing him to death. I was entrusted to execute the punishment. I felt myself glorified and asked for their blessing. All of them endearingly embraced me and expressed their best wishes for the successful completion of the task. I felt warm blood flowing in my veins.

With the revolver in my pocket I entered the temple of Goddess Kali and placed the fiery arm at her feet. Then I sharply scratched my chest with a thorn and offered blood to the Mother, praying success for my mission. On returning home I told my elders that I was going to town for a few days and bade farewell from them.

Now my only duty was to fulfil the task entrusted to me Whenever Asanulla Khan was in town he used to visit a playground every day and after 10 O'clock in the night his destination would invariably be the house of a particular prostitute. So he would have to be murdered in one of these places. Hundreds of soldiers used to guard him at his house. When he came out in the streets lorry loads of soldiers in front as well as at the back of his car itself accompanied him. There would be eight body-guards fully equipped with arms, in the car itself.

I would have to walk a distance of three miles to reach the playground and that too through strict military guards. I dressed myself as a rustic with a folded umbrella on my breast and proceeded towards the destination. But for the first two days I could not make any headway.

Next day was August 31. I reached the ground at about 4 p.m. The fixture was a final play between the Town club and Asanulla's police club. Fortunately, Asanulla's team won the match. The players broke open the military cordon and handed over the trophy to Asanulla—their Secretary. In the excitement of the moment he forgot about his own safety and came out in the open with the cup in his hand. Curious crowds gathered round him. I saw that momentous opportunity and without losing any time approached him and released three bullets one after the other at him. He fell down. At the sound of the bullets people began to flee to and fro. For a moment I stopped to have a look at the blood bathed body and being sure of Asanullah's death took to heels. The bodyguards however doggedly pursued me through the fields inspite of my firing at them at random. After an exchange of fire for some times the inevitable happened. The revolver was empty. I loaded it but as ill luck would have it no bullet came out when I pulled the trigger. Siddiqi Dewan, the ASI came forward and blocked my way. There was no way of escape, so I hurled my revolver at the ASI and it struck him below the abdomen. Although Siddiqi fell down, one of Asanulla's bodyguards struck me with a lathi causing me to fall too. They then jumped on me and showered kicks at me uttering abuses like Bengali kutta. When they became tired of kicking and whipping me, they brought me to the kotwali. There they arranged materials of torture before my seat—a seasoned cane, a battery charge set, a bundle of shining long needles. He took down my name and address and with the tone of a loving near relative consoled me 'Do not be afraid. Only just give proper reply to my questions. You will then be released and allowed to go home.' He then asked me several questions—"Who gave you the revolver ? Who are the members of your party ? Where is Masterda ?" I remained silent. The police super still kept up his composure and said "If you answer my questions correctly, you will be excused. I shall create opportunities for you to prosper in life. If you intend to proceed to England, I can arrange that too. Further you will be awarded a big reward."

But no temptation, however big it might be, was certainly not bigger than my country, my nation and above all security of our beloved Masterda and his colleagues. My personal gains or future prospects, even my personal freedom never appeared to be of any importance.

When I did not open my mouth inspite of his pompous promises, he at once changed his tone and said in a rude voice "If you be obstinate, all the things that you see before you will be applied on you and you will be compelled to speak out. But then you will not get what I am promising you. Think it over coolly." He waited for an answer a few minutes and then began the inhuman torture—boots, canes, battery charges, pricks of sharp needles were mercilessly applied on me. It was more hellish than hell itself. These tortures went on throughout the night inside the Jail. Outside the jail the brutal oppessions were carried on a broader scale on all patriotic youngmen and their parents. Hundreds of youngmen were brought into the thana only to be subjected to tortures. They were so brutal that even some of the police men shed tears in sympathy. Next morning thousands of goondas were let loose in the the town; they began arson and loot throughout the city. Any youngman who dared to oppose these anti-social elements were severely beaten by the police. Many people were arrested. Almost all the houses of the Hindu community were burnt down.

I was sent to the village school with five-hundred soldiers. All the teachers and students of the school were mercilessly beaten; doors and windows of the school became red with sprinkling of blood. But even with that widespread repression they could not find any clue about the revolutionaries. Then they took me round the villages and at last brought me to the market place. The soldiers vociferously gave the slogan : "British Empire Zindabad, Revolutionary Murdabad. Masterda Murdabad". Raising my voice to the highest pitch I gave counter slogans "Long Live Mastarda. Long Live Revolution. British Empire Murdabad". I felt an echo of my slogans in the hearts of every man assembled there. The policemen also understood the situation and retaliated against me. I lost my consciousness when they fell upon me with their boots and lathis. When I regained my consciousness, they brought me to my home. On entering the house they drove away my brothers by striking them at random with their booted-kicks and lathis.

They bound my aged parents with two nearby trees and furiously kicked them and struck them with lathis till they became unconscious. And then they set fire to the house with petrol. Our ancestral home was consumed to ashes before our very eyes.

Thus they continued their brutal fury on me and over the city of Chittagong. In comparison, tyranny of the huns or the Nazis would pale into insignificance. After four days of inhuman torture they took me to the police lockup and made a show of some treatment before I was put on trial. The trial lasted for five months and a death sentence was passed on me. But in consideration of my tender age the sentence was reduced to that of transportation for life and I was sent to the Andamans.

The revolutionary youths of Chittagong were unfortunately deprived of the chance to mete out justice to the brutish Superintendent of Police as he himself paid the penalty of his sins by committing suicide.

# Integrated Rural Development Programme of Bangladesh

**M. Mokammel Haque**
*Executive Director, RDP, Bangladesh*

In terms of key field personnel, IRDP provides, after careful selection from among university graduates and their preservice training at the BARD, a Project Officer, Dy. Project Officer and an Accountant at the thana level. A Project Director is provided at the district level for supervising thana level work and keeping liasion with other programme.

After liberation, in January 1972, ten thanas—six in the district of Rajasthani and four in the district of Bogra—were added covering in all 33 thanas under the IRDP. In the current year, 1972-73, 56 new thanas covering all the district except Chittagong Hill Tracts which is under intensive development by the MADC have been taken up and IRDP Project Officers on completion of their training have been posted in those thanas in January, 1973.

While spade work is going on in the new thanas in full swing for the formation and registration of village co-operative societies and the TCCAS, achievements upto 31 December 1972, of the 33 thanas may be highlighted as follows :

Number of societies organised : 6561; number of members enrolled: 1,61,663 ; members' own share and savings: Tk. 128 lakh ; total loan is issued to members: Tk. 658 lakh; Loan repaid Tk. 312 lakh upto December, 1972, Tk. 162 lakh was over due, mainly due to the dislocation because of liberation war and its aftermath. By now there is an optimistic trend in the repayment positition and it is hoped that these co-operatives with some rational support would be in a position to repay most of the overdue loans.

A total number of 198 key personel *viz.* TPOS, DPOS and Accountants who have already been posted to the different thanas were trained at BARD. During July to December 1972 the IRDP TCCAS had organized, weekly training classes for village co-operative to the tune of 1,087 classes for Managers and 948 classes for Model Farmers.

Detailed analysis of the performances in the field, of organization of societies, training and credit operations has been presented in this supplement separetely by contributors.

## Outlook and Prospect

A thorough scientific and independent evaluation of the performance of the new co-operative system within the IRDP framewoek will be shortly taken up to identify strength and weaknesses. The Programme will be constanly improved on the basis of research studies and periodical evaluations. However citation of a recent study conducted by a researcher at the BARD on the trend of rice production in four districts over a decade, taking five-year averages from 1962-63 to 1966-67 and from 1967-68 to 1971-72 may be in order. There appeared to be a significant difference in the increase in production according to districts, exposed to the Comilla approach under the aegis of the IRDP. The annual rate of increase was found to be 5.75 for Comilla (IRDP TCCA) 5.06 for Chittagong, (TCCAs outside) 2.60 for Mymensingh while it showed a decline by 0.36 per cent for Faridpur (both these district not exposed to Comilla Approach). The explanation lies in the ability of the new co-operatives achieved through the rigour of training and discipline for effective utilisation of credit and physical inputs toward production. Needless to point out that the rate of increase in the fields of members of the co-operative societies was much higher.

During the first Five Year Plan a total of 250 thans are expected to be taken of which 89 have already been adopted and the remaining 161 will be taken up in a phased manner during the next three years. A total of 40.757 primary societies are expected to be formed, involving as many as 28,87,448 co-operative members. An amount of Tk. 1333,49 lakh is also expected to be accumulated as the farmers' own capital at the end of the plan period.

Of this, Tk. 653.88 lakh will be in the form of thrift deposit and Tk. 679.61 lakh as share capital. As regards operation of institutional credit by the TCCAs, a total amount of Tk. 13100.00 lakh will be required in the form of short, medium and long term-loans to meet the requirement of the next five years. Of this amount, Tk. 4184.00 lakh will be required as long term and Tk. 8916.00 lakh are expected to be required as medium and short term loan.

Apart from these other input requirements like fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, pumps, tubewells etc., will be supplied by the relevant agencies for the use of the cooperative members. The main concentration is expected to be in the food-grains concentration area and the national strategy will be fully supported by the village and thana level cooperative institutional infrastructure.

It is also envisaged that apart from serving as an effective tool for increased agricultural production and its marketing, storage, etc. these cooperatives could serve as a base for bringing in desired innovative changes in the fields of health, family planning, functional education, rural electrification etc. Emphasis will be given to develop them into efficient institutions for achieving economic and social changes in the rural areas—thereby servicing the teeming millions of the rural Bangladesh.

## The Comilla Experiment

Experiment in rural development through cooperative institutional base was undertaken with the establishment in May 1959 of the Academy for rural Development at Comilla. Within five years "The Comilla approach" to rural development became internationally know. For the first time in the history of rural development efforts a bold statement was made of the need for massive investment many times more than conceived before in the rural sector. The plight of the the masses of the small farmers in the hands of a few landgrapping money lenders was brought to the fore.

The cause of the apathy of the farmers in improving their lot through increased production was carefully analysed. Since majority of the farmers had very small holdings and it was not possible for them to buy improved implements and small machines and operate them economically on individual basis, they needed to form into cooperative group to make joint use of implements and other inputs. From such searching analysis based on actual field experimentation grew the "Comilla Model" that evisaged introduction of production—increasing modern technology and the necessary supporting organisation to be institutionalised.

The organisation required a two-tier cooperative system comprising of primary cooperative society in and around a village having farmers with indentical group interest and group actions at village level and the supporting federation at the thana level known as the TCCA (Thana Central Co-operative Association). Not only in crop production that was necessitated by the national call for self-sufficiency in food, but also in the field of livestock, fishery and rural industries including storage, processing and marketing. Modernisation in terms of health and nutrition, housing and home management, family planning, education, recreation and culture was to be effected simultaneously around the cooperative institutional base.

The individual role of the nation building departments like Agriculture, Education, Health and Family Planning, Labour and Social Welfare, Water, Power and Housing, etc. was recognised in the way that their experts would be availale for technical advice and training of lay leaders at the Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) another institution conceived to take firm root longside the TCCA. The one that was also fundamental with the Comilla Approach and stands as challenge to the traditional community development approach was to rely for spread of modern ideas and practices on the village itself rather than on an imported "extension agent" or a "village level worker" appointed and controlled by the Government.

Continuous training of the manager, the model farmer and others to assume innovative roles through the cooperatives was envisaged to be imported in the TTDC who in their turn were visualised to become "carrier" of modern ideas and practice in the villages. Such a device was considered both cheap on cost and enduring on end result.

## TRDP—The National Programme

The integrated approach was envaluated and appreciated and as envisaged in the Comilla Model the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was intiated as a National Programme in late 1970 and accepted and given a boost up after liberation. The Programme is committed to replicate the Comilla Model two-tier cooperatives througout the country.

It is not merely a "cooperative programme". It proceeds from a political and social philosophy and a strong set of operating principles distinct from the older co-operatives of the country of even most overseas cooperative programmes.

It emanates from a deep commitment to a rural society control led by small farmers. The two-tier cooperatives had been envisaged as a vehicle for economic development enabling the farmers to rally together for protecting themselves from domination by landlords and money-lenders, develop new leadership to challenge the socialism.

The constitutional provision and the declared state policy for democratic socialistic reconstruction of Bangladesh has added support and focus to the principle that planning for economic development through production increase with the simultaneous concern for attaining self-sufficiency in food has to forestall the vestiges of exploitation.

Inhibition with traditional reasoning like, "We cannot distribute poverty; growth first and distribution will follow" as contained in erstwhile Pakistan's Fourth Plan outline—and the consequent exploitation that led to extreme social disparity ultimately brining about disintegration of the state at a tremendous cost of human blood and misery—needs to be forsaken for positive philosophy--strategy.

In the context of our present day rural society characterized by mass poverty and a large segment of subsistence farmers and rural workers, brining this large segment into the production fold by way of meeting their basic need for food, shelter, clothing, education, and helping them build their own co-operative organisations for commerical production free from the clutches of exploiters ensures in our reasoning for enduring economic growth at an impressive rate.

# Realism and the Hopes

### Correspondent

With the approaching European security and cooperation conference, general interest has been now shifting toward suggestions running far in the future and concerning some kind of organizational framework to the problem of European security and cooperation. One such suggestion is the idea to appoint a permanent organ of security and cooperation.

The matter of creating a post-conference body was also raised in statements and suggestions made by the western countries, especially those outside of NATO. Pictured rather vaguely, it is often made dependent on other positive results of the conference. In general, however, dominant with the NATO countries and with most of the EEC members is a restrained attitude to treat the matter as a continually open question.

## Two Standpoints

The differing outlooks on the matter of a permanent post-conference body were not borne exclusively by certain contradictory views on the course and tangible results of the conference now in preparation. Rather, they reflected a more essential divergence of view on further development of European situatian and the role the conference should play in this development. As is often emphasized, according to the socialist states the conference on security and cooperation is not an end in itself, rather it is a means, or one of the means, to help attain the principal goal-establishment of a security system, based on new, and more lasting that the balance of power, principles and on an expanding cooperation among European states.

For it would be unrealistic to anticipate that one conference could resolve all essential problems of security and cooperation in Europe. Yet, it could become, with the goodwill of all states concerned, a turning point in European relations. This kind of approach to the conference leads to setting it definite tasks. One of these tasks would be to ensure continuity of the process of transformation, begun by the conference, in the nature and structure of European relations. This could be attained both by creating conditions favourable to the further development of that process and by initiating certain institutional patterns to that end.

## The European Security and Cooperation Conference and the Process of Transformation

It would be difficult to oppose the assertion that within recent years Europe has entered onto a road of significant transformation. The changes in European situation, hardly immaginable a few years back, have been brought about, on the one hand, by the process of normalization of relations and the network of bilateral agreements between both parts of Europe, and on the other, by the progress in preparatory talks for the conference and the initiation of exploratory talks on arms reduction. The rate at which these changes are occuring even justifies allusions to ' a diplomatic revolution" of a sort. It seems reasonable to presume that the remaining years of this decade will bring further progress in these dynamic changes in European relations. Under these circumstances the establishment and maintenance of institutional frames for the purpose of encouraging and fostering multilateral discussions among European nations, can be a matter of major significance and this is so on a number of counts. A forum would thus be provided for the exchange of opinions and a common search for new methods of organizing security and cooperation. The present methods are no more adequate under changing conditions and have, therefore, to be replaced by their alternatives. Such a forum will help bring to light and talk business on various questions, will facilitate the exchange of views in case of conflict and the finding of ways to eliminate such conflicts.

Seemingly, one could be justified in asserting that, although it is extremely essential to have the conference solve a number of problems, its significance in the historical perspective can stem not so much from the decisions made as from the fact that a permanent international dialogue has been started in European relations.

The direction in which the European situation will evolve and thus shape the future of our continent can be connected with a permanent routine of consultations and discussions following the conference rather than individual decisions passed in the course thereof. The setting up of a permanent body will thus attest to the understanding shown for new condition and exigencies as well as to the wisdom of European politicians. Whether the body will be formed should not depend on the conference's success in other matters, although the atmosphere and results of the conference may have effect on the nature of the organ in question and its competences.

Last but not least, in favour of setting up the organ, purely practical reasons might also be quoted. In the course of the conference, other problems may be raised, the settlement of which will be difficult before the conference is out. Practical implementation of some of the decisions taken may demand further negotiations and agreements. The organ, for its part, will likely have quite a significance in preparing next conferences, should the need for holding them arise.

## Tasks and Structure of the Permanent Body

At least in its initial stage, the structure of and the functions to be performed by the permanent body will have to be defined by the specific nature of political habitat in which it is emerging—the factual state of international relations in Europe. A realistic evaluation of these relations must lead to the conclusion that accepted general European institutional solutions are very modest in nature, and the fundamental function of the new body should be first of all creations of potential possibilities for collaboration of state on the broad platform of European issues. This is to be done through formulating tbe areas of common interest to all state, with their sovereign rights fully safeguarded in solving major problems to the benefit of individual states. The principal line of activity should be through consultations ; the new body will help exchange information and opinion on individual issues and different state will be able to explain their standpoints and interests, at the same time retaining full freedom of decision in those matters.

The principles of operation of the new body, to be outlined by successive conferences, should be possibly flexible and little formalized to be able to better adjust its procedure to the nature of problems tackled. The important element that accompanies such a solution should be the assurance that the body be competent to appoint, in case of necessity, auxiliary organs in the form of sub-comittees or task teams. For at different stages in discussion the participants may see it fit to hold consultations in various sub-organs specializing in particular groups of problems (political, economic, environmental protection, etc. Appointment of auxiliary organs may also be necessitated by a need to devote more consideration to certain problems, especially where a community of interests has begun to crystallize.

It is also possible to study other solutions alternative to the one presented here on the draft structure and principal functions of the permanent body. One thing seems certain, though it should be the simplest possible in structure, flexible in operation and should in no way impair the independence of states concerned with the matters discussed within the body. One more assertion can be added to the above remarks, namely that the new body should not double the work of or replace the existing European institutions. Rather, ways of possible contact and coordinated work should be sought between the new body and the existing institutions of European cooperations. The new permanent body should give inspiration to the work of those institutions. This could be exemplified, among other things, by the transfer to them of matters which the body would classify as particularly ripe for settlement, or by the indication of problems awaiting urgent solution.

On the other hand, the permanent body should be in a position to avail itself of the assistance of the existing institutions. In practice, it would signify preparation of all sorts of reports, at a request, on problems to be discussed later within the permanent body. In that way the ground for discussion and consultations would be provided by statements and documents filed by individual states, reports on the work of auxiliary organs. as well as documents prepared by other organizations at the request of the permanent body.

## The Subject of Consultations

Having now drafted the general functions and methods of work of the permanent body, it would be worthwhile to study in more detail the subject of consultations to be conducted within that body.

Without considering a whole gamut of other matters that may come to the surface at that point, it would be worthwhile to look on certain examplary issues to be tackled by the permanent body. In the area of security, consultations might concern, for instance, the possibility, direction and extent of increasing or supplementing political obligations written down in some basic document of the first conference and conforming to the overall objectives of and the suggestions submitted at this conference and concerning, for example, the institution and principles of peacefully settling international disputes in Europe, or other institutions and principles leading ultimately to the emergence of a new system of European security. As a result of this action, in the long run, there would be an even wider range of all-European obligations toward security organizations on this continent and the corresponding network of all-European institutions. In the area of cooperation, independent of the many concrete problems and cooperation projects, the consultations might be concerned with problems of a more general nature. One such problem could be the quest for a possibly coherent and internally organized, though consisting of multiple elements, system of all-European cooperation, in which both the existing and new institutions and forms of cooperation would be given their proper place. The relevant consultations could hence concern, for instance, the matter of intensifying the work of the European Economic Commission. It could likewise be concerned with formulating the principles of cooperation among the existing economic organizations or with joining together sister organizations in both East and West Europe, with the expansion of regional cooperations within universal organizations, and last but not least, with the setting up of new agencies or institutions where real needs and possibilities exist.

Thus conceived permanent body should embrace all European states plus the United States and Canada. The Committee could normally assemble in Helsinki, also the site of its secretariat (the function of a secretariat could be initially performed, at the request of states concerned, by an appropriate section of the Finnish Foreign Ministry). Other provisions could have it that sessions of the Committee will be open to

(*contd. on page 45*)

# India, GDR Co-operation

Both sides agreed that the establishment of diplomatic relations had opened a new chapter in bilateral relations between the GDR and India.

The exchange of views confirmed again the identity or closeness of the viewpoints of the GDR and of India on international issues and bilateral questions which were discussed.

Both sides welcomed the recent positive changes in international life. The two sides reaffirmed their conviction that the most important task at the present time is to work actively for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace. They declared their determination to continue to work for peaceful co-existence between states and for the respect of territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, non-recourse to the use or threat of force in international relations.

The Foreign Minister of the GDR explained fundamental aspects of GDR's foreign policy in implementing the peace programme of the eighth SED Party Congress Here he emphasized the decisive contribution made by the GDR, jointly with the other socialist states to promote detente and to strengthen peace in Europe by their co-ordinated foreign policy. He stressed that an essential instrument in this respect is the growing role of socialist economic integration of the CMEA member states for the all-round strengthening of the countries of the socialist community of states.

Sardar Swaran Singh appreciated the valuable contribution made by the GDR towards strengthening of peace in Europe.

Both sides noted with great satisfaction the process of detente which is taking shape in Europe and agreed on the importance of the treaties concluded by the USSR, Poland and the GDR with the Federal Republic of Germany, and of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, for strengthening peace in the European continent.

They welcomed the progress made in the multilateral consultations in Helsinki in preparation for the European Conference on Security and Co-operation and hoped that the conference will be held in the very near future. The GDR and India also attach great importance to the forthcoming negotiations on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe.

Both ministers expressed their hope that these developments in Europe will also favourably influence the peaceful resolution of differences and help to eliminate conflicts and tensions in other parts of the world as well.

The Minister of External Affairs of India outlined the recent developments in the Indian sub-continent subsequent to the Simla-agreement of July 1972. The Foreign Minister of the GDR fully appreciated and supported the efforts of India aimed at achieving durable peace and good neighbourly relations among the states in the region. The GDR welcomes all steps contributing towards the creation of an atmosphere of good neighbourliness on the sub-continent and considers the Joint Declaration of India and Bangladesh of 17 April 1973 as a practical contribution towards solving remaining problems and conducive to the establishment of durable peace in this region.

Both sides welcomed the agreements on peace in Vietnam and Laos as a historic victory for the peace-loving forces in the world. They reaffirmed their readiness to contribute to the speedy reconstruction of these devastated countries. They underlined the need for strict observance of the Paris Agreement so as to open the way to peace in the countries of Indo-China as a whole and to enable the peoples of these countries to settle their affairs themselves without interference from outside.

Both sides stand for the speedy settlement of the conflict in West Asia on the basis of the United Nations Security Council Resolution of 22 November, 1967. They called for the vacations by Israel of the occupied Arab territories, and supported the just demands of the Arab peoples and the legitimate interests of all states in the area, including tne Arab people of Palestine. as being essential for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

Both foreign ministers stressed the importance of the United Nations for safeguarding peace and international security and for promoting cooperation between states. They regard the universality of membership to the United Nations as an important principle for the effective functioning of the world organization. They advocated the membership of the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations in the very near future. Both sides called for the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations without further delay.

Both sides underlined the importance of measures to stop the arms race and to bring about general and complete disarmament comprising nuclear as well as conventional arms under effective international control. They supported the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference with the participation of all states.

Both sides condemned the attempts of colonial and racist regimes, particularly in southern Africa, to reverse the process of eliminating the remnants of colonialism and racism. The policies pursued by the racist and colonial regimes represent a flagrant infringement of basic human rights and jeopardises the security of independent African countries.

Both sides reaffirmed their support for national liberation movements in colonial territories and called for the speedy and complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in accordance with the United Nations declaration of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Both sides agreed that the policy of non-alignment continues to play a vital role in opposing imperialism and colonialism in advancing the cause of freedom and in lessening international tensions and in the consolidation of world peace and security.

Both sides reviewed all accepts of Indo-GDR bilateral relations and discussed the possibilities for further expansion. While, expressing their satisfaction at the development of their relations they agreed that there is considerable scope for the creation of new opportunities for the further intensification of mutually beneficial commerical and economic cooperation both on short-term and long-term basis.

Both sides agreed to further expand and intensify their cooperation in all fields. They considered it useful to exchange views on international and bilateral problems of mutual interest and agreed to hold periodic consultations also in future. Both sides expressed complete satisfaction with the result of their discussions and agreed on the importance of exchange of visits at different levels, between the two countries. They agreed that the visit to the GDR of the Minister of External Affairs of India and his delegation contributed to strengthen further the close mutual understanding and cooperation already existing between the two countries.

The Minister of External Affairs of India expressed his thanks for the warm hospitality extended to him and his delegation. He invited the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic H. E. Herr Otto Winzer to pay an official visit to India at a mutually convenient time. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

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# Peking's Brazen Violation of Bandung Principles

Y. Malinkin

The Bandung conference of Asian and African countries, held in 1955, worked out ten principles for peace and cooperation, including the five "Panchsheel" principles of peaceful coexistence previously endorsed by some of the Asian countries. The "spirit of Bandung" became a symbol of unity and solidarity of Afro-Asian countries in their struggle for independence, and a vivid proof of the fact that the overwhelming majority of these countries had adopted the principles of peaceful coexistence as the only possible basis for relations between countries having different social system.

## Commitments

China's Prime Minister Chou En-lai, who led his country's delegation, put his signature under the concluding Bandung communique together with the other participants. The communique summarized the results of the work. Along with other Afro-Asian countries, the People's Republic of China undertook to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other countries or bringing pressure to bear on them, settle all international disputes by peaceful means, and respect justice and international commitments. Together with other participants in the Bandung conference, the People's Republic of China called upon the governments of all countries to disarm and ban the manufacture, tests and use of weapons of mass destruction.

However. Peking leaders did not care to be loyal to these commitments for a long time. Subsequent development have shown that the Bandung conference was needed by them for totally different purposes, namely, to enhance their international prestige and to try and put the world national-liberation movements at the service of their great-power chauvinistic policy. Guided by these intentions, the Maoists broke the solemn promises they had made to the world. Gradually the PRC became a seat of international tension, recurrent conflict and armed clashes on the borders of neighbouring countries

## Sino-Indian Dispute

The border incidents between China and India in 1959 confined that Peking was not going to observe the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese leaders began to demand openly a revision of the treaties on the Chinese-Indian border. Moreover, in 1962 China resorted to open attack against India in an attempt to solve the border issue by means of war. At the same time the Chinese leaders declared hypocritically that China would applaud the desire of the Afro-Asian countries to find a way for settling the Sino-Indian conflict by peaceful means. When, however, representatives of six countries—Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Egypt, and Ghana—gathered in Colombo in December 1962 and after careful preparations advanced their proposals for a settlement of the dispute, China rejected their peaceful proposals.

Contrary to the spirit of the Bandung conference, Peking sought in every way to sustain and fan up the armed conflict which had flared between India and Pakistan in Rann of Kutch in the summer of 1965.

## Interference

Brazenly violating the principles of the Bandung conference and interfering in the internal affairs of its neighbours, Peking rendered material and military aid to the Shan and Kache separatists in Burma, and supported the anti-governmental actions of the Nagas in India.

During the years of the "cultural revolution" the Hungweipings attacked the diplomatic representatives of Burma, Indonesia, India and the Mongolian People's Republic in Peking with the blessing of Chinese leaders. Anti-governmental manifestations of pro-Maoist hoodlums were staged in countries bordering on the People's Republic of China. The PRC Government even made an attempt at bringing direct pressure to bear on Burma by refusing the promised economic assistance As a result, the construction of a number of projects envisaged by Burma's economic development plan was suspended and even stopped. Press reports indicate that through its radio stations such as The Voice of the People of Thailand, The Voice of the Malayan Revolution and The Voice of the People of Burma, Peking is instigating and actively supporting the anti-governmental extremist-movements in the countries of South-East Asia.

## Disgrace

While declaring their support of the national-liberation movements, the Maoists are betraying the latter for the sake of pursuing their own self-seeking ends. For example, the Maoists threw overboard the principles of Bandung, vehemently came out against the liberation struggle of Bangladesh and assisted the military terroristic regime of Yahya Khan in every way. The leaders of Peking stained their hands with unwashable disgrace when they prevented the young Republic of Bangladesh from being admitted to the UN.

The Maoists are doing their utmost to thwart the convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation, to prevent a relaxation of tension in Europe, the Middle East, and the Hindustan subcontinent. They refuse to join the treaty prohibiting the tests of nuclear weapons in outer space, atmosphere and under-water. They undermine the Soviet-Indian Friendship Treaty and the constructive steps to settle relations between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, and the idea of collective security in Asia. All this provides ample proof that the Maoists are sticking to their policy of fanning enmity, distrust and tensions among nations, and ignoring the commitments of Bandung.

# Punjab's Laudable Efforts To Promote Income and Nutrition

When the country had been facing an acute shortage in food grains, Punjab brought about a Green Revolution bestowing prosperity to its farmers and adding substantially to the national granary. Now, when the country faces an acute deterioration in parity, income and nutrition, Punjab has been making laudable efforts to end disparity and to promote income and nutrition through state-wide activities of SFDA and MFAL agencies to uplift the small farmer, the marginal farmer and the agricultural labourer and through a network of dairy units and modern milk plants to augment income as well as nutrition.

Thus, from a Green Revolution, with a firm grip on agriculture Punjab appears to move forward towards a White Revolution. And it is remarkable that while earlier the bigger and the better off farmers had been the pioneers, later now the weakest section of the people—the agricultural labourer without any farm-land, the marginal farmer holding land less than 2.5 acres and the small farmer holding land between 2.5 and 7.5 acres appear to be the pioneers. According to Shri Ravi Sawhney, Project Director, MFAL development agency, Hoshiarpur—"The Weakest section is consciously or unconsciously pioneering a new revolution in Punjab—the 'White Revolution'."

It has been possible on account of credit and various other facilities granted to the have-nots through the help of the SFDA and MFAL Agencies, attaching greater importance to subsidiary occupations like dairying and providing the two essential requisites of successful dairying—regular veterinary aid and availability of green fodder.

Starting from March, 1971, when two small farmers development agencies (SFDAs) were first set up in Punjab and November, 1971 when three marginal farmers and agricultural labourers agencies (MFALs) were set up there as pilot projects wholly financed by the Government of India, the SFDA and MFAL agencies in Punjab made rapid progress, some of them achieving their five years' targets in less than a year and a half. Being encouraged by this progress the State Government, out of its own funds, set up more such agencies and developed them into composite agencies covering small as well as marginal farmers, and, now Punjab is the first and the only State in the Indian Union that has extended the small and marginal farmers programme to the entire State.

The agencies helped the participants to obtain credit from commercial and cooperative banks, and to have technical know-how, necessary inputs, storage and marketing facilities and immunity from seasonal unemployment. They have assisted a very large number of farmers, small as well as marginal, to instal tube-wells on their land, and to purchase necessary inputs. And for immunity from seasonal unemployment, the agencies have taken up various rural works which are labour intensive, including construction of link-roads, digging of drains, improvement of Panchayat lands, construction of retaining walls for village ponds to help especially the agricultural labourers. For the rural artisans the agencies have drawn up various schemes like rope making, shoe making, sheet metal working etc. And especially in the case of marginal farmers much importance has been given to subsidiary occupations like dairying, poultry, piggery etc. According to an account given by the development commissioner Punjab—"So far the agencies have been instrumental in the purchase of 2,234 buffaloes by the marginal farmers and 1,191 by the small farmers. Marginal farmers have also been helped for purchsing 34,550 poultry birds while small farmers have been helped for purchasing 12,264 birds, 23 Piggery Units have also been started". Of them, dairying has become the most popular scheme. In this regard, the "Garibs" of Punjab have proved themselves not only credit-worthy but also capable of rendering excellent performance towards the further economic development of the State.

According to Mrs. Sarla Grewal development commissioner, Punjab—

"The Production of milk has been organised through a vast net-work of dairy cooperatives The marketing of the produce has been arranged by the Punjab dairy development corporation which is also assisting the agencies in setting up milk chilling centres and milk Plants. The Co-operative in Punjab have undertaken various kinds of activities in the past Now for the first time they have also entered the field of dairy and milk production, with the active support of the co-operatives in the milk production programme Punjab is well on its way to a "White Revolution". A fluid plant and milk products plant is being set up at Hoshiarpur at a total cost of 123.50 lakhs, through the technical assistance of the Punjab dairy development corporation. A milk plant of 50,000 litres capacity is being set up by the MFAL agency Jullunder. The SFDA agency Ferozepur/Amritsar will set up a milk chilling plant at Khadur Sahib. Milk chilling centres are being set up at Garshankar. Khatkar Kalan, Harpur Bedi, Chabal and Patiala Each milk plant will thus be fed by several milk chilling centres which in turn shall be fed by a net-work of dairy co-operatives. Punjab dairy development corporation is also very actively engaged in production of milk and setting up milk plants in the State. The corporation already has a milk plant of 30,000 litres capacity functioning at Chandigarh and a plant of 60,000 litres capacity functioning at Amritsar. Plants of 70,000 litres capacity at Ludhiana and 50,000 litres capacity at Bhatinda are now nearing completion. A net-work of milk chilling centre is being organised around these two plants".

So, quite reasonably, Dr. D.C. Pavate. Governor of Punjab, expects "a milk revolution in the State".

And, once again we are reminded of the two important findings of the NCAER in its techno-economic survey of Punjab in February, 1962, that—

"19. The growth of agriculture has been remarkable. The Plan targets have been exceeded and in all principal crops the rate of growth of output has been faster than in all-India.

"20. In industry too big strides have been taken, particularly in engineering and chemical industries. The pattern of growth, however, remains oriental to consumer goods markets".

Herein the successes and the evolving pattern of growth in development planning in Punjab referred to, appear to corroborate the effectiveness of the 'People's Plan' with the guiding principle of 'production for use' and an emphasis on agriculture-rationalisation and modernisation thereof to increase productivity of labour as suggested by M. N. Roy at the outset of Indian planning.

Earlier through introduction of modern equipments and short duration high-yielding varieties highly responsive to large doses of fertilisers with assured irrigation facilities and necessary credit Punjab increased its wheat production from 24.51 lakh tonnes in 1966-67 to 58 lakh tonnes during 1972-73. And there has been a break-through in the sphere of rice production too. Now, through SFDA and MFAL agencies to increase the productivity of labour of the small farmers, the marginal farmer and the agricultural labourer, development of various subsidiary occupations like dairying, poultry, piggery etc., and a net-work of dairy cooperatives with various milk plants, Punjab is going to face for more production for use and especially a very remarkable and welcome break-through in the sphere of milk production. Already consumer goods industries have developed on the basis of agricultural products and markets for consumer goods have been expanded, the coming milk revolution assures more so. Firmly in view of all these, perhaps it is better for us to adhere to 'People's Plan' whose guiding principle is 'production for use' and which alone can liberate us from the vicious circle of poverty.

# Haryana Marches On

In rural electrification Haryana is the first State in the Indian Union, whose all villages have been electrified since November, 1970. Not only all the 6669 villages of Haryana are now electrified but also their consumption of electricity for agricultural purposes is at present the highest in the country. The number of tubewells run on electricity has risen to more than 1,14,500 from 29000 in May, 1968. The number of industrial connections has also gone up to 21,250 from 11,000 in 1968. The daily consumption of power has risen to 5.37 million units from 2.03 million units in March, 1968. The per capita consumption of electricity almost doubled up to 108 units per annum in 1972 from 57 units per annum in 1967. And the gross revenue of Rs. 1973.00 lakhs shows an increase of 150% over the gross revenue of Rs. 759.33 lakhs in 1967-68.

Further, it is noteworthy that the employment opportunities generated in the organised sector of the economy in Haryana, is the highest in the country. Besides, the per capita income in Haryana appears to grow at a rate three times as fast as in the country. And the growth appears to be the highest in the country as against an average of 5.5 per cent in the entire country the compound annual growth of Haryana is 12.7.

Based on a rapidly improving infrastructure the economy of the State has been making good progress in development. The total Canal irrigated area has risen from 13.72 lac hectares in 1967-68, to 15.09 lac hectares. And in 1971-72 the area irrigated through tubewells was about 56,000 hectares. Now through the Jui Lift Irrigation Project, the Indira Gandhi Canal, the Birendra Narayan Chakravarty Canal, etc., irrigation facilities are being extended to the chronically drought-affected areas of the State. In roads too, there has been much progress. 352 Km. of new roads were constructed in 1968-69, 2,070 Km. in 1970-71 and 3,292 Km. in 1971-72. 893 Km. of roads were added during 1972-73. There were only 1,500 villages covered by metalled roads in May 1968, now 3,873 villages are connected by roads and efforts are being made to cover 60% of villages in Haryana by the end of the current financial year. Road transport is also fast developing. At present it is the most efficient and the most profitable. Profit per K.M. has risen from 18 to 27 paise since 1968. With the development of roads, transport and places like the Badkhal Lake, Sultanpur Jheel, the Chakravarty Lake, Surajkund, Sohna and the Pinjore Gardens and the setting up of rest houses and restaurants on all the highways, Haryana now occupies an important place on the tourist map of India.

With a broadening and deepening infrastructure, there has been a marked progress in agriculture, animal husbandry and industry. Agricultural production recorded an increase of 74 per cent in 1971-72 over the base 1966-67. In industry, it is notable that many industrialists from all over the country have been attracted to set up their units in the State. A total of 407 industrial licences and letters of intents have been granted by the Government of India including important items such as Tractors, Motor Cars, Scooters,

(contd. on page 45)

# Peaceful Coexistence and Liberation Struggle

*Vladimir Li, D.Sc. (History)*

Among the many questions of international life today is the policy of peaceful coexistence and its interconnection with the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The main thesis of those who oppose this policy boils down to the assertions that it is a "tactical manoeuvre" of the Soviet Union and its allies, that it is "at variance" with the interests of the national-liberation movement and "prevents" the consolidation of forces for the struggle against imperialist aggression, for the liberation of the peoples languishing under colonialism and racialism. Bourgeois propagandists go a step further and distort the very concept of peaceful coexistence as a "convergence of social systems" or "coexistence of opposing ideologies". Such assertions are contrary to reality.

## Leninist Concept

The Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence refers exclusively to international relations and in no way related to the class struggle. It is intended to make the imperialist states to acknowledge the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity of each and every state, non-interference in the internal affairs and respect for the right of all peoples to freely determine their social system. The policy is a specific form of class confrontation of the two social systems, strategy for the creation of an international situation most favourable for a success of the national-liberation movement.

In the early days of the Soviet state, peaceful coexistence was merely a definite tendency in international relations and not a determining factor. But today, this policy is gradually becoming a real factor of international relations. This process finds its reflection in the foreign policies of the USA, France, the FRG and other Western states where ruling circles are compelled ever more to reckon with the fact tha under the present conditions there is no way for more rational and realistic relations with the socialist countries other than peaceful negotiations, agreements and compromises.

## Socialist Unity

Of course, it should be kept in mind that imperialist quarters have not yet renounced the use of force as an instrument of their predatory policy. When made to retreat in one region, these forces put up fierce resistance in another. The affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence can be achieved only through a steady strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the forces of world socialism, of the international workers' and national-liberation movements.

It has become possible to frustrate the plans of US imperialism in South-East Asia thanks to the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, the all-round assistance rendered to it by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the solidarity of the world's working class. But the forced recognition by imperialism of some of the indisputable realities of the present world does not signify any "transformation" in its class, exploiting, nature.

## Internationalist Line

Therefore, while adopting active measures to reach a detente Soviet foreign policy is, at the same time, aimed at eliminating the hotbeds of military conflicts, and giving fitting rebuff to imperialist aggression.

The Soviet policy of providing all-round assistance to the newly-independent countries, and of active support to the peoples waging an armed anti-colonial struggle is in line with the vital interests of the present national-liberation movement. The damage and sacrifices suffered by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as a result of the predatory colonial wars and military conflicts, the arms race and militarisation are generally known. The imperialist powers unleashed over 30 local wars in various regions of the globe in the past 25 years alone.

Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union has supported and will continue to vigorously support the just struggle of the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, for peace and progress.

# Inflation and Deficit Financing

**K C. SAXENA**

> *"In India we have full-blooded democracy and side by side we have all the unhappy brood of poverty. We have to stop the cumulative forces which make the rich richer and we have to start the cumulative forces which enable the poor to get over the barrier of poverty."*
>
> *—Jawaharlal Nehru*

Our Government is naturally very much perturbed over the unprecedented spiralling rise in prices of the essential goods for the poor consumers. A rise of twenty per cent in wholesale prices over one year—and over four per cent in one month—is a development with serious implications for the economy and the future of the Fifth Plan. The simultaneous increase in the bank rate may be regarded as only one of the measures to call a halt to the runaway inflation.

As a matter of fact, the increase in prices is much higher than is reflected in the wholesale price index. Because, the index takes into account only control (as distinct from open market or scarcity) prices, for instance, in the case of sugar. Secondly, the extent of increase at the retail level is invariably much larger than is warranted by the spurt at the wholesale level.

The Government of India's concern over the serious economic situation in the country is evident from its willingness to have had a dialogue with industry. Recently, a delegation on behalf of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry met the Prime Minister, Stm. Indira Gandhi, to discuss and find out ways and means to remedy the situation.

In view of the Federation, the present situation had developed due to the serious setback in the agricultural production and the slack in the industrial output, for which, partly the powercuts, and, partly the shortfall in production of agricultural raw materials, going into industrial goods, were responsible. Also, the delays in licensing and clearance of projects hamstrung production. Industrial relations had also added to the deteriorating economic situation in the country. In this context, our Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, had observed that the situation would have been much better if labour had agreed to a moratorium on strikes for a period. During the discussion, inflation was seen as a particularly disturbing element.

But the rub lies in the fact that even though the solutions are found, they are not acted upon betimes by the powers-that-be. The administrative leviathan does not move because of its being top-heavy and no serious effort is made to expedite the Government procedures. Our Prime Minister is keenly interested to see the country financially better off and turn the corner. But there are people at the helm of affairs, who are only interested in feathering their own nests at the cost of the starving teeming millions and thus try to frustrate the genuine attempts of the Prime Minister to better the lot of the underdog.

The dearer money policy is a step in the right direction. But the industry has been looking at it through jaundiced glasses and argues that the move will push up costs. But, statistics make it clear beyond a shadow of doubt, that a major part of the increase in the commercial banks' credit to the commercial sector (which includes public-sector undertakings) last year was accounted for by credit to the private sector.

The nationalised banks were flushed with funds and it appears that the corporate-sector was able to build up large inventories. But, it will not be right to come to the conclusion that the funds were not used for stepping up production. The setback to production was mainly because of the power restrictions and bottleneck in the supply of raw materials.

The Food Corporation of India and other public agencies utilised bank credit only to a limited extent last year because the buffer-stocks were heavily drawn down and the credit was repaid. Credit for food procurement operations did not therefore contribute to the inflationary spiral to any significant extent.

The inflationary pressures have been accentuated by the high level of governmental expenditure as against the poor performance both in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The Parkinson's Law prevails in all its majesty in this country. The top-heavy government administration continues to grow without any let or hindrance with a very meagre production, which barely justifies its existence. It seems that there are only rights and no duties in our country. Unless and until every individual produces enough to justify his job assigned to him, the poverty 'hatao' slogan rightly given by our Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, shall ever remain a chimera and a fantom.

Although there was a substantial increase in public borrowing last year over the budget provision but still the deficit financing went high. The deficit financing reached an all-time high of over Rs. 850 crores in 1972-73. This is Rs. 300 crores more than the revised deficit estimate of Rs. 550 crores for 1972-73 made in the Union Budget for 1973-74.

The record deficit last year followed the heavy deficit of Rs. 710 crores in 1971-72 which itself was the highest in 15 years.

The Governor of Reserve Bank, Shri Jagannathan, has called attention to the need for greater control over public expenditure, when the RBI raised the bank rate from six to seven per cent.

The big leap in deficit financing in 1972-73 is attributed to some unanticipated decline in revenue receipts. particularly, excise and certain liabilities including food imports not taken into account earlier.

Despite the massive resource mobilisation both through fresh taxation and large market borrowings during 1972-73, the originally budgeted deficit of Rs. 251 crores rose to Rs. 550 crores in the revised estimate and has finally moved up to about Rs. 880 crores.

By the middle of May 1973, the increase in money supply with the public was 16 per cent higher than the previous year's level while the wholesale prices index had registered an increase of nearly 20 per cent. Credit expansion since the end of October 1972 was also over Rs. 1,000 crores.

The current year's budget has assumed a modest deficit of Rs. 85 crores but there are many imponderables which might upset the applecart of calculation, apart from the Third Pay Commission's recommendations which would involve an immediate expenditure of Rs. 145 crores.

Our Government have not evinced keen interest or inclination to curb public expenditure and the Security Press at Nasik worked overtime to produce notes with the result that the supply of money with the public is now 16 per cent higher than last year's level. This should be regarded as abnormally high, the ideal in our circumstances being 9 to 10 per cent.

The commercial banks have expanded their lending by Rs. 1,000 crores since October last, which again is abnormal. It must, however, be remembered that when there has been deficit financing at a consistently high level for the last two years even a slight increase in money supply would affect the prices.

Apart from the Government's extravagance, which is largely responsible for augmenting money in circulation, the Reserve Bank should also share the blame for letting the commercial banks step up credit so substantially. The increase in the bank rate and other restrictions on banks have been unconscionably delayed.

For the current year, the Government has provided a small deficit which is plainly deceptive. The Government knew that the recommendations of the Pay Commission would entail a sizable liability but persisted with presenting a low level of deficit.

The Government is now making effort to slash down public spending. but one is apt to take it with a pinch of salt, that it may not turn out to be just a ritual, as has often happened in the past. It may be continued that unless the Government takes determined steps to cut down all unnecessary expenditure, particularly, non-Plan administrative expenditure, the whole exercise may end up with an economy of not more than a few crores which cannot fulfil the need of the hour.

The entire economy of the country is in turmoil. It is the sacred duty of each citizen of this country to strengthen the hands of the Government by his hard labour and thus contribute to the coffers of the Nation.

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(*Contd. from page 37*)

diplomatic envoys of above-mentioned states accredited in the Finnish capital or to specially appointed representatives of equal rank in Helsinki. In favour of such an arrangement speak, first of all, the experiences of both the diplomats stationed in Helsinki and the Finnish Foreign Ministry. The provisions could further be supplemented to allow, under common agreement, for sessions of the permanent body to be held in other European capitals, It also seems recommendable to set the date for the inauguration of the permanent body (*e.g.* three months after the end of the conference) as well as to adopt a principle of periodic meetings (*e.g.* at least once in 3 months' time). The body should operate on the consensus basis.

The proposal to set up a permanent forum for European discussions and consultations and the explanation of its significance in shaping European relations in the 'seventies should not be regarded as an attempt to promote institutional solutions in international contacts. For it is comprehensible that the acceptance by all states of the necessary reorganization of Europe in a more satisfying manner and the willingnes of the states to advance in that direction will be a prerequisite for further progress toward new European solutions in the area of security and cooperation. Nevertheless, as was pointed out before, the existence of a permanent body could be a facilitating and stimulating factor in this process.

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(*Contd. from page 42*)

Nylon Filament Yarn, vegetable ghee, Electronic components, Passenger cars, Spring Iron, etc. In animal husbandary, the State renowned for its famous breeds of 'Haryana Cows' and Murrah Buffaloes, has been making considerable progress in its various spheres, especially in its intensive cattle development projects. A Milk Plant at Jind was completed in December 1970 with the processing capacity of 50,000 litres of milk per day, processing milk into butter, ghee and milk powder. According to a report total products worth about Rs. 214 lakhs till 30-11-72 have been sold. At Bhiwani, a sweetened condensed milk plant with the handling capacity of 15,000 litres per shift of per 8 hours, has been completed. Another project to handle 20,000 litres to 50,000 litres has been undertaken for the twin tows' of Ambala City and Ambala Cantt.

Thus, with a well-laid infrastructure still expanding, Haryana appears to march on, commendably on all fronts of economy and welfare.

# Palestine Problem : United Nation's Passive Role

### ATTAR CHAND

No other world crisis has perhaps engaged the attention of the United Nations for such a long period as the Palestinian problem. Ever since the Palestine question was first raised in the World Body in April, 1947, it has become a permanent feature of the U.N.'s agenda.

It is not a mere coincidence that the Palestine question has the dubious distinction of having occupied, at one time or another, the attention of all the six constituents of the world organisation designated by the U.N. Charter as "The principal organs of the United Nations".

(*a*) The General Assembly, (*b*) The Security Council, (*c*) The Economic and Social Council, (*d*) The Trusteeship, (*e*) The International Court of Justice and (*f*) The Secretariat.

Ironically, one may add that in no other case perhaps the importance and effectiveness of the United Nations in its efforts to bring about amicable settlement of contentious issues has been so thoroughly and repeatedly exposed.

The Israeli aggressions on the Arab territories since 1948 and the ever increasing number of Palestinian refugees since then have only added to the number of U.N. Resolutions which have never been implemented. These resolutions have contributed little towards mitigating the enormity of the Israeli attacks on civilian population.

At the first U.N. session held after the expulsion of the majority of the Arab population of Palestine by the Zionists, the General Assembly endorsed the recommendation of the assassinated Mediator, Count Bernadotte, submitted as a draft resolution by the British Government. Recognising the right of the refugees to return to their homeland, the Assembly directed that they might be permitted to do so "at the earliest practicable date" if they so chose and that compensation be paid for loss of or damage to their property. This was re-affirmed in Resolution 194 (III) of December, 1948 which *inter alia* stated :

"Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable data, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for the loss of or damage to property, which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible".

This Resolution has indeed become the model for subsequent U.N. pronouncements on the subject of Palestinian refugees. In fact the admission of Israel into the United Nation was linked by the General Assembly on may 11, 1949, to the implementation of the Resolution passed five months earlier on the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees.

Resolution 273 (III) of 11th May, 1949 states : "Noting.........the declaration by the State of Israel that it unreservedly accepts the obligations of the United Nations Charter and undertakes to honour them from the day when it becomes a member of the United Nations".

"Recalling its resolutions of 29 November, 1947 and 11 December, 1948, and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representatives of the Government of Israel before the *ad hoc* Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolution.

"The General Assembly

"Decides to admit Israel to membership in the United Nations".

The Resolutions concerning repatriation of Palestinian refugees have been repeated every year, session after session but with each passing day, their worth and significance are being eroded, one apprehends inexorably. Israel continues to flout the authority of the United Nations blatantly. The two subsequent wars between the Arab Nations and Israel in 1956 and 1967 respectively only heaped further tribulations on the refugees and resulted in the annexation of almost the whole of Palestine by Israel. The situation is consequently aggravating in West Asia, with smouldering embers of guerilla activities threatening to rekindle the fire, while the U.N. is rendered a useless tool as a result of big-power game, in which Washington continues to arm Israel and veto any constructive approach to the settlement of the problem.

Consequent upon the uprooting of still more Palestinians from their home-land, in the wake of June, 1967 war, the six organs of the United Nations have called for the immediate repatriation of the displaced persons in 10 Resolutions. In almost all Resolutions, the Security Council has formally condemned Israel, for "pre-meditated" military actions, which constituted a "flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter". In its resolutions, the Security Council warned Israel that "failure to comply with the present Resolution" would lead the Council to consider further, more effective measures. But censures, rebukes and condemnations have fallen on deaf ears. Israel has not given the slightest indication of checking its provocative activities against the Arab Nations and the Arab people ; and talk of return to June 5, 1967 territories is berated by them.

In adopting an adamant posture, Israel has, no doubt, been encouraged by the super powers' machinations for and interest in preserving a "No war, no peace" state in the Middle East, with the aim of creating sphere of influence in this region. The Zionists arrogantly and brazenly propound the theory of "striking first". Incidents like the "Munich Case" have only provided them excuses to launch still bigger attacks on the civilian populations of the neighbouring countries like Jordan. Lebanon and Syria. In September, 1972. they launched all out attacks against Lebanon and Syria and the U.S. layed a helping hand when they vetoed a resolution in the Security Council, calling on the parties concerned to cease military activities. It is noteworthy that for the year 1972-73, the U.S. Government has provided Israel with some 400 million dollars worth of assistance in the form of loans and aid. Apparently, the U.S. role in the conflict is a complicating factor. In such a state of affairs, it will be too much to expect any positive results from the half-hearted peace-keeping efforts of the world body; the failure of the Jarring Commission was fore-doomed.

Time and again the General Assembly has upheld the rights of the Palestinians, but for want of any machinery to ensure implementation of its Resolutions, its views have not concretised into action. The Special Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on December 7, 1972, adopted a draft Resolution on the Israeli actions in violation of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, and *inter alia* re-affirmed that all measures taken by Israel in contravention of the Geneva Convention to settle the occupied territories, including occupied Jerusalem, are null and void.

The Israeli stubbornness is reflected in the fact that for the 60th time in as many months, the United Nations has directed Israel to end its illegal occupation of the territories annexed during the June 1967 war from the neighbouring Arab States of Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

On December 13, 1972, the General Assembly passed three pro-Palestinian Resolutions with overwhelming majorities.

From its very inception, the *de-facto* State of Israel has embarked upon an expansionist design at the expense of the neighbouring Arab Nations and through brutal force has expanded its boundaries far beyond those envisaged in the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947. In fact, the very creation of the Zionist State of Israel through a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly was contrary to the terms of the U.N. Charter, as it can have no right to partition a country against the will of the majority of its inhabitants who are Arabs. Further, Israel's admission into the World Body was conditional on its honouring the U.N. Resolution calling for repatriation of the Palestinian refugees.

The continued defiance of the U.N. by Israel puts a question-mark on the efficacy of the World Body. No doubt the right of "veto" invested in the permanent members of the Security Council has been used as a pawn in the game of super-power politics.

It is a common fallacy to consider Palestinian question only as a refugee problem. This would amount to taking a myopic view of things. The issues involved are much bigger. In fact, the central point at issue is the political identity of Palestine. The aim of the Palestine revolution is the establishment of a secular, democratic and progressive State of Palestine, free from foreign bondage, with equal rights for all which alone can ensure peace and stability in this war ravaged land.

The least that the United Nations should do is to suspend the membership of Israel until such time as the latter agrees to abide by and implement the U.N. Resolutions. In the meantime, the U.N. needs to device certain machinery to ensure its rightful contribution towards settlement of the world problems. Until and unless this is done desperate young Palestinians will continue, to be attracted towards dramatic actions like the Munich incident and the Khartoum bloodshed to focus the attention of the world on the plight of the Palestinians. The desperation and disappointment of a typical Palestinian youth finds eloquent expression in the words of Fawaz Najia, the Palestinian delegate to the U.N. sponsored World Youth Assembly, New York in July, 1970.

"The Palestinians have absolutely no hope in the United Nations the way it works and functions. We have taken up arms and we shall not put them down until we liberate our homeland. As Palestinian youth, we are certainly committed to the Palestinian Liberation movement. And by liberation movement, I mean the establishment in Palestine, in occupied Palestine, of a unitary democratic State. Until we achieve that, we shall continue with our struggle". (See *Fateh* August 5, 1970).

Time is bound to overtake the United Nations in the long run. Will the World Body heed the signs?

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# India Yesterday and To-day

O. P. MEHROTRA

The following tables show how some of the physical targets were attained by the end of the Plan :

## PHYSICAL TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

### Agriculture

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Target | Achieve-ments |
| Foodgraisn | million tonnes | 66.9 | 76.2<br>(81.8) | 82.0 |
| Cotton | million bales of 180 kgs. each | 4.0 | 5.4<br>( 6.5) | 5.3 |
| Sugarcane (Gur) | million tonnes | 6.1 | 7.2<br>( 7.9) | 11.1 |
| Oilseeds | million tonnes | 5.7 | 7.1<br>( 7.7) | 7.0 |
| Jute | million bales of 180 kgs. each | 4.2 | 5.0<br>( 5.5) | 4.1 |
| Tea | million kgs. | 299 | 318 | 320 |

*Note* Figures in brackets indicate the revised targets.

### Irrigation and Power

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Targets | Achievements |
| Area irrigated (net) | million hectares | 22.8 | 27.5 | 24.6 |
| Elelectricity (capacity) | million kwh. | 3.4 | 6 9 | 5.0 |
| Electricity (generated) | million kwh. | 10,777 | 22,000 | 20,023 |

### Community Development

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Targets | Achievements |
| Blocks | number | 1,075 | 3,088 | 3,137 |
| Villages covered | '000 nos. | 143 | 386 | 364 |
| Population served | million | 69 | n.a. | 203 |

*Note* : Population coverage is based on 1951 census.

## Industry and Mining

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 Target | 1960-61 Achievements |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coal | million tonnes | 39.0 | 61.0 | 55.5 |
| Iron ore | million tonnes | 4.3 | 12.7 | 11.0 |
| Finished steel | million tonnes | 1.3 | 4.4 | 2.4 |
| Pig-iron (for sale) | million tonnes | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| Cement | million tonnes | 4.7 | 13.2 | 8.0 |
| Alluminium | '000 tonnes | 7.4 | 25.4 | 18.3 |
| Cement machinery | Rupees million | 4 | 20 | 6 |
| Sugar machinery | Rupees million | 2 | 25 | 44 |
| Machinery tools | Rupees million | 8 | 30 | 70 |
| Steel structural fabrications | '000 tonnes | 203 | 508 | 229 |
| Electric motors 200 h. p. & below | '000 h.p. | 272 | 600 | 728 |
| Electric transformers (33 kv and below) | '00 kva | 625 | 1,360 | 1,392 |
| Electric cables (ACSR conductors) | '000 tonnes | 8.8 | 18.3 | 24.0 |
| Railway locomotives numbers | | 179 | 400 | 272 |
| **Fertilizers :** | | | | |
| Nitrogenous | '000 tones of N | 80 | 290 | 99 |
| Phosphatic | '00 tonnes of P2 05 | 12 | 122 | 54 |
| Sulphuric acid | '000 tonnes | 167 | 478 | 368 |
| Caustic Soda | '000 tons | 36 | 137 | 101 |
| Soda ash | '000 tones | 82 | 234 | 152 |
| Sulpha drugs | tonnes | 84 | 449 | 147 |
| D.D.T. | tonnes | 288 | 2,845 | 2,831 |
| Sewing machines | '000 nos. | 111 | 220 | 303 |
| Bicycles | '000 nos. | 513 | 1,000 | 1,071 |
| Automobiles | '000 nos. | 25.3 | 57.0 | 55.0 |
| Cotton cloth (mills) | million metres | 4,665 | 4,892 | 4,649 |
| Sugar* | million tonnes | 1.9 | 2.9 | 3.0 |
| Petroleum products | million tonnes | 3.4 | 4.4 | 5.8 |
| Paper and paper board | '000 tonnes | 190 | 356 | 350 |

*During sugar season (Nov.-Oct.)

## Transport and Communications

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 Targets | 1960-61 Achievements |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Railways :** | | | | |
| Passenger trains—killometers* | million | 175 | 100 | 193 |
| Freight Originating | million tonnes | 116 | 165 | 156 |
| Surfaced roads | '000 kilometre | 183 | 224 | 236 |
| Shipping | million GRT | 0.5 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| Post Offices | '000 numbers | 55 | 76 | 77 |
| Telegraph Offices | '000 numbers | 5.1 | 6.3 | 7.0 |
| Telephone connections | '000 numbers | 278 | 458 | 463 |

*Including electrical multiple units.

## Education

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Targets | Achievements |
| Students in Schools | million nos. | 31.3 | 41.2 | 44.7 |
| School-going children as a proportion of children in the respective age group | | | | |
| Primary stage (6.11 year) | per cent | 51.9 | 63.0 | 62.4 |
| Middle stage (11.14 years) | per cent | 16.3 | 22.5 | 22.5 |
| Higher-Secondary Stage (14-17 years) | per cent | 8.0 | 12.0 | 11.3 |
| **Engineering and Techological Institutions :** | | | | |
| Degree level : | | | | |
| Intake of students | '000 nos. | 5.9 | 13.5 | 13.8 |
| Diploma level : | | | | |
| Intake of students | '000 nos. | 10.5 | 13 1 | 25 8 |
| **Medical Colleges :** | | | | |
| Intake of students | numbers | 3,500 | 4,500 | 5,800 |

## Health

| | | 1955-56 | 1960-61 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Targets | Achievements |
| Hospitals and dispensaries | '000 nos. | 10.0 | 12.6 | 12.6 |
| Hospital beds | '000 nos. | 125 | 155 | 186 |
| Primary health units | numbers | 725 | 3,725 | 2,800 |
| Family planning centres | numbers | 147 | 2,647 | 1,649 |
| Registered doctors | '000 nos | 675.0 | 82.5 | 70.0 |
| Registered nurses | '000 nos. | 18.5 | 31.1 | 27.0 |

During the Second Plan period there were several important developments, some of them may disturbing for the economic progress. Partly due to the nature of investments in the Plan and partly due to the maintenance needs of the economy imports during the Second Plan, rose sharply. As against this exports from the country were rather stagnant.

This is disclosed by the following tables :

## Foreign Trade of India

(By Sea, air and Land) in crore of rupees

| Year | Imports (less transit trade) | Exports (less transit trade) |
|---|---|---|
| 1955-66 (last year of the First-Plan) | 774.35 | 608.91 |
| 1956-57 (Ist year of the Second Plan) | 902.91 | 619.62 |
| 1957-58 (2nd year of the Second Plan) | 1,036.40 | 635.14 |
| 1958-59 (3rd year of the Second Plan) | 903.64 | 572.64 |
| 1959-60 (4th year of the Second Plan) | 956 31 | 639.36 |
| 1960-61 (Last year of the Second Plan) | 1,003.20 | 648.33 |

As will be seen from the above figures, India was having an adverse balance of trade, which rose from Rs 165 44 crores in 1955-56 (last year of the First Plan) to Rs. 354.87 crores. In this overall depressing situation there was only one cheerful note—the growing trade with the USSR, in which India maintained a net balance of trade in favour of her.

*Continued*

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# SKYLAB

Skylab, America's first space station soared into earth's orbit on May 14, at 2300 hrs. IST at a height of 271 miles above the earth making a complete revolution of earth's orbit in 93 minutes. This will serve as a giant 'Cabin in the sky' for nine astronauts who will be sent up in three batches.

The skylab is 82.2 feet by 22 ft. Its inside area is 11,500 cubic ft. and it weighs 100 ton. On two sides of the skylab are joined two wing like parts measuring 30 ft. by 28 ft, these are actually solar panels meant to produce electric energy from the sun's rays. This space research laboratory—the biggest in the world so far, contains three separate rooms in which the astronauts will be able to live separately. Besides there are arrangements for kitchen, baths, lavatories, television and a pantry packed with tons of food ranging from mignon to icecream. There will even be a shower which can be used once a week.

The first batch consists of three astronauts—Charles Conrad (Commander), Dr. J P. Kerwin (space physician) and J P Weitz (astronautical engineer). They were scheduled to be put in the laboratory on May 16 and stay there for 28 days. But this plan was upset because of serious troubles in the space station. Solar panels which provide for the skylab workshop did not deploy when part of a protective cover was ripped away and temperature within the workshop jumped to 125 F. The manned command module carrying the three astronauts was launched on May 25. The astronauts deployed an umbrella styled sun-shield over their heat crippled space station, and other means, to bring down the temperature. The skylab crew are trying their best to make up lost time. After the return of the first batch, the second batch of astronauts consisting of W.K. Garrowatt, Allen Bin, and J.R. Louzma will take their place and stay in the laboratory for 56 days. The last batch, which will also be in the space for 56 days, consists of J.P. Carr, E.G. Gibson and W. Pogue. But with the upsetting of the programme the first batch may remain in space for a longer time.

The purpose of the skylab is to conduct research on the natural resources of the earth such as oil and metals under the sea or in the polar region or in regions hitherto unaccessible to man, observations on solar energy and their effects on the atmosphere and habitations on the earth, researches on astronomical and metereological sciences, study of geological composition of the earth and technological experiments in weightless conditions. Extensive researches on medical sciences are expected to throw new light on such subjects as circulation of blood in space (samples of blood are to be taken of the three astronauts thrice during their stay up), digestive system and metabolism of blood particles. New knowledge obtained from the skylab researches will be a boon to the mankind and further their welfare.

Skylab planners have devised a plan to rescue the astronauts in an extremely remote emergency such as a flash fire erupting aboard the skylab command module. Technicians at Cape Kennedy will, in that case, send up the next skylab craft waiting to take the next batch upto the orbitting workshop. What will happen in an emergency is that the date of the succeeding launch will be brought forward.

More than 400 solar photographs had already been shot by a high power observatory in the skylab including unprecedented pictures of three huge stormy areas of the Sun. The studies of solar storm flares will help unravel terrestrial weather.

# Sex Control in Offspring

**Alla Avilova,**

Soviet geneticists under the leadership of professor Vladimir Strunnikov, D.S. Biology, have bred a silkworm moth strain consisting of male species alone. In subsequent mating of silkworm moth males of the new strain with females of any other strain also, it was noticed that males alone are born. Soviet geneticists have been working on this for about 20 years now.

Introduction of the Strunnikov technique into production will increase the silk output in the Soviet Union by 50 per cent. The economic effect will amount, on tentative evidence, to 50-55 million roubees a year.

Three silkworm egg hatching plants turned out about 1,500 boxes of silkworm eggs of the new hybrid to be used in large-scale production tests. Hatched to 114,020 males were not more than 833 females, *i e.* 0.74 per cent, and this testifies to a very high accuracy in obtaining male offspring of silkworm moth.

As is known, productivity of the animals of of different sex is different, and, what is more, not infrequently it is confined to one of the sexes (production of milk, spawn, eggs, etc ). Thus cattle breeders, fish breeders would all like to obtain in the offspring an overwhelming quantity of the "desirable" sex.

But so far silkworm breeders alone have been lucky. From now on they are capable of obtaining unlimited quantities of the "profitable" sex, *i.e.* males, alone : the fact is that silkworm moth female spends nutritive substances partly on the formation of eggs and for this reason its efficiency as silk producer is 20-25 per cent below that of the female.

Professor Strunnikov's main idea implies that corresponding error-free corrections should be made in the animal's hereditary apparatus. A specific combination of sex chromosomes in the progeny gives either male or female in the case of a silkworm moth. A normal scheme of silkworm moth multiplication yields an equal quantity of males and females. To secure that males alone were born, it was necessary to find a method to destroy future females already in the egg.

X-ray radiation was used to produce in the male cell chromosomes certain damages handed down by heredity. It was possible to find such a radiation technique that ensured the location of these damages in different sections of two twin chromosomes. The irradiated male stayed alive, but its hereditary apparatus comprised a gene lethal to the future females, and to females alone.

Thus, the males of the species were produced, providing only the male posterity, a highly productive breed. But how was it to be preserved if the female of the species was not reproduced ? A way out was found. In order to get the females of the species for breeding purposes, one of the female sex chromosomes was split by roentgen radiation, and its part, with the genes making up for the damages of the sire chromosomes, was "attached" to another chromosome. Under certain cross-breeding conditions, all the females in the posterity species survive, while only half of the males of the species remain alive.

According to a well-known Soviet geneticist Academician Boris Astaurov, "progress made in silkworm sex regulation gives confidence about the possibility of solving this problem for other animals, too. In the case of certain objects it has a serious modelling significance. Approaches used in the case of silkworm may, apparently, be useful. above all. in developing sex regulation techniques in fish and birds."

## Memory Drug

A team of scientists headed by Dr. George Unger at the Bayler College of medicine. Housion discovered a memory drug which when taken in right doses will enable, as the scientists claim, to be a muscian, a scientist, a doctor, a politician according to one's own choice. This chemical responsible for the inducement of the desired response has been named scotophobin. Rats not trained to the sound of the bell when treated with the extract behaved as though they had been. Scientists have so far abstained from injecting the chemical into the brains of humans. It is therefore uncertain how far it will be successful when applied on human brains which are much more complicated than rats and if successful how long the result will be lasting. In the case of basic animal responses like fear, aggressiveness, abject obedience, the chemical concerned is likely to be successfully administered. It may also prove efficacious in curing mental disorders.

But at any rate such chemicals will be extremely dangerous weapon in the hands of ambitious dictators and in the capitalist world rendering commonman susceptible to the wikes of uncanny scientists and producing desired regimentation by them.

"All over the world there is a realisation that only through right education can a better order of society be built up. Education is not something in the air cut off from the daily life of the student or from his future work as a citizen. Real education, it is felt, must be based on the actual environment and experiences of the child and it must fit him for the work he will have to do in after life."

**—Jawaharlal Nehru**

# *Muffled Groans*

**Ashu Chattopadhyay**

*A short story*

The night was dark. A bitter cold wind was blowing. Though it was not yet eleven, the streets were practically deserted. Fog and smoke enveloped the city.

The rickshaw-puller was walking at a leisurely pace. He was tired and hungry. He was returning to the place where he lived. He badly wanted food and rest.

On a sudden he heard a plaintive feminine voice calling, "Rickshaw-wallah, Oh rickshaw-wallah!"

The fog was so thick that he could not see anybody. He stopped nevertheless, although reluctantly. He was not going to work any more that night.

A female figure approached him. She was barely over twenty years and was plainly clad. Obviously, a poor girl, thought the ricksha-puller. But he was determind not to oblige her, however little a distance she wanted to go. He noticed, however, that she could not stand erect. She was evidently in great pain.

She said, "Will you take me to the hospital, rickshaw-wallah ?"

"No", said the man emphatically, "No, you take some other rickshaw."

"But I am standing here for quite a long time. Only one rickshaw came this way. The puller was an old man. He refused to take me."

"I also refuse to take you," the rickshaw-puller said decisively. He was on the point of moving away.

"Stop, brother, stop." cried the girl. It was rather a moan that he heard. So he had to stop.

"You see I am going to have a baby, I am in great pain," said the girl, "I must go to a hospital at once, or I shall die. Do you want me to die, brother ?"

The rickshaw puller was definitely in a fix. He could not decide what to do.

"Have you nobody to take you to the hospital ?" He asked.

"No," she said, "my husband works in a factory outside the town. Not very near, you see. I could not inform him in time. I have no money with me also. We are so poor. He earns so very little money. Oh, tell me, what shall I do now ? I cannot even stand."

So it would be job without money, thought the rickshaw-puller. But he could not think of any alternative. He was a human being, after all. So he said crisply, "All right, take your seat on the ricxshaw. To which hospital do you want to go ?"

"To the nearest," replied the girl, taking her seat very promptly.

The rickshaw-wallah practically ran, pulling his rickshaw. He wanted to deposit her at a hospital and then return home for the night.

He came to a hospital quickly enough. When he stopped at the gate, the girl asked him to go inside and report about her. He went in but came out presently.

"Give me your card", he said, "they want to see it."

"Card ! Which card ?" She asked in surprise.

"They said you must have booked your seat in advance. So they wanted your card."

"Booked my seat in advance !" she moaned, "who would do that for me ! Won't they take me in then ?"

"I dont think so," said the rickshaw-puller, "let me see."

He went in again. He was a little late in returning this time. The girl in high hope at this delay.

But the rickshaw puller emerged crest-fallen. Evidently he had failed in his mission.

"They said they had no empty bed. They advised me to try another hospital," he said.

"What shall I do now !" the girl said faintly.

"How can I tell you" ? said the rickshaw-puller, "I have no experience in this matter. You rather tell me what I am to do now."

"Can you take a little more trouble, brother, to take me to another hospital ? You see what a helpless condition I am in !"

"True," said the man, "but another hospital may also refuse to take you in. The hospitals are not for poor persons like us, you see. Any way, let us try. I cannot abandon you in this condition."

He took up the rickshaw and was on the move agian. It was close upon midnight. Not a man could be seen on the street. Only some private cars glided by, hooting their horns viciously. The shops were closed. The street-lamps looked ghostly in the fog.

What a thankless task I am in; thought the rickshawpuller.

The second hospital was at quite a longer distance. When they arrived there, the rickshaw-wallah had to go through all he had done before. And the result was the same. They had no empty bed for a girl without a card.

By this time the girl was evidently in a more intense pain. She was groaning from time to time.

"If you had money, my girl", said the rickshaw-puller, "you could have easily got yourself admitted into a nursing home, even at this late hour. But you are penniless, unfortunately."

The girl could not speak for some time. Then she somehow managed to whisper, "Can't you take me to any other hospital ?"

"Let us try the north part of the city now," said the rickshaw-puller, "they may be more kind in the hospitals there. There are more poor men in that part of the city."

He was determined to see the girl through. She was such a fragile little girl in such a helpless condition. She might have been his own sister, he thought. He could easily go without food or rest for one night for her sake.

But it was a long distance to the northern part of the city. It was long past midnight. The wind was bitterly cold. He had to cover the long stretch of the Maidan. The fog was getting more and more dense.

As he ran he could hear from time to time a faint groan from behind him. He quickened his pace.

He took her to several hospitals, one after another. They were all very sorry, there was not a single empty bed. They could not keep her in the balcony. It was winter. If there was any catastrophy, who would take the blame !

"At least help her to deliver her child," pleaded the rickshaw-puller.

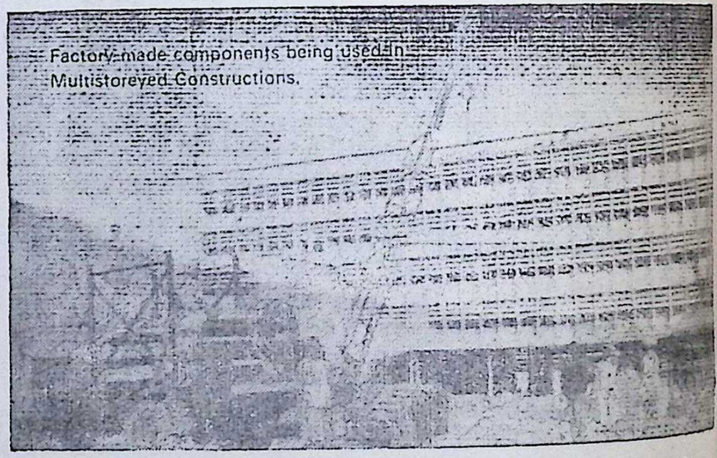
"But we must have to keep her somewhere after the delivery," was the impassive reply.

When he came out of the last hospital he could hardly walk. The girl seemed to be quiet, resting on the back of the seat. The rickshaw-puller was at his wit's end, he did not know what to do. The eastern sky had a faint glimmer of light, announcing the coming of day. Some persons were seen moving in the street.

The rickshaw-wallah pulled his rickshaw at a leisurely manner. He saw a big red building. It must be the police station, he thought. He went towards it. He wanted to place her into the hands of the police and seek their help to save the girl.

As he came before the police station, he saw an inspector standing at the gate. With rough voice he asked the rickshaw-wallah to stop and put down his rickshaw. As he complied, something heavy slided from the rickshaw and fell on the street with a thud.

The inspector gave a crushing slap on his cheek and asked, "Where were you taking the dead body, you scoundrel ?"



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INTERADS

# Bahel in Bed No. 19

## Amal Ganguly

Was it the day of Holi? Yes, perhaps and Bahel, my bed neighbour blinked at me from over his pillow, and said—"Holi khatam to gai sali" "for this year only" I said, and he kept mum.

To take Holi lying down was indeed curse for him. He was in Bed No. 19 and I in No. 18.

Both were struck at the heart,—what is medically termed as coronary attack. Bahel was 6' ft. high, and built proportionately all round along waist, thigh and what not. The nurse, who looked after him, was actually doing-up three men in one while spunging him. Like a Gulliver, he lay prostrate on Bed No. 19—a man who could be tipped for olympics even now.

Beside him, I looked a toy, extending partially on the sheets of Bed No. 18 my nurse had a khusi time,—the entire physical dimension of skin and bones made up a very small store to clean.

Philosophically, I was thinking of this man, God and His trick of "Bhanumati". Physically, between Bahel and me, any comparison is absurd and impossible. His intake and other things would be one of my whole family. But, then,—why this show of robustness when you and me with one stoke could be struck and then lie as Bed-neighbours 18 and 19? What then is the difference between a tiger and a rat, and why then this all-flaunting boast of superiority of physical skill.

In all my life, I have never gone out on a morning walk. Bahel did all his life. Why then the same fate?

Don't tell me that my health has failed for not doing this and that. It has failed for it has to. We could not be archaeological pieces to excite the curiosity of the posterity. We fail, our health I mean, as it is in the nature of things. And nothing fails like failure as gloriously as life or else, who would strive to live? But then, introspection is not the theme of this sketch. I am not here for a dismal prognosis of the times or to write something about the philosophical aspect. Looking at Bahel,—I was feeling a little sad.

He has already missed his holi, and at 3.30 P. M. he looked a little restive and the eyes slightly, should I say tearful? I know, he was looking out for his wife from 12 noon. He nurtured disappointment for full 3 hours and then appeared tears of "abhiman" in his eyes, which he cleverly soaked away in his towel. And lo and behold.—just at that hour appeared Mrs Bahel—on the scene, with a face of sensitive graciousness made beautiful by a sense of guilt and default.

The first encounter between husband and wife was one of silence: the ice was there, but who is to break it? The wife Mrs. Bahel looked down and out and disabled for having come late to her sick husband. Delay, yes, and that made the husband challegingly superior, and enormously big and moral. He would not talk.

At least, she had made him wait. Made him impatient. Made him feel, once again perhaps, his love for his wife. An idolatrous romance, agelessly new, credibly simple and a natural feeling of devotion, yes, devotion indeed. Enormous love is devotional; it is odd too, a phenomenon by itself.

They were looking at each other. Hot lines were communicating The peace was round the corner I thought, looking through the small corner of my eye, as if dozing. At least they thought so. But, I had seen the high drama, sécretly though.

They held their hands and eyes were tearful;—the ice had broken.

The moment of reconciliation had crystaclised.

Bahel at 53 has not grown up, nor his wief at 50 was 50.

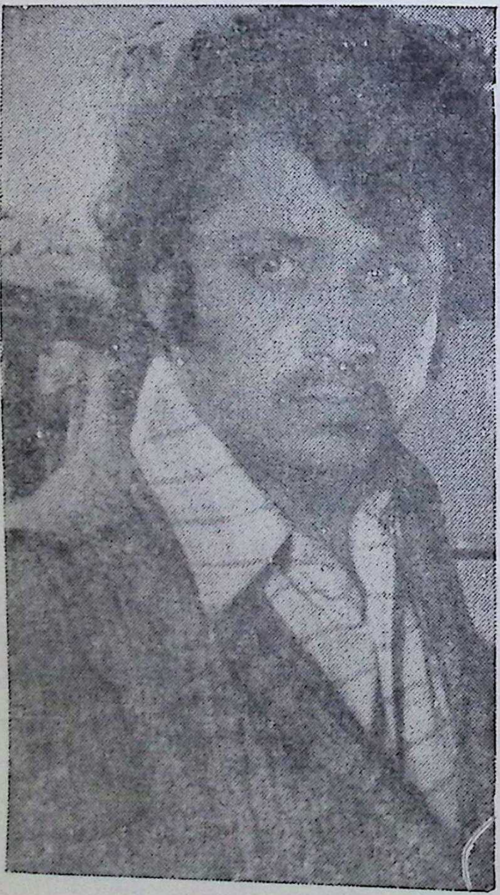
Husband and wife, between them, and left to themselves never grow in to maturity.

I saw it, and I know it. It is a fact that need not scandalise you.

# FILMARQUEE

**Dhrubajyoti Roychowdhury**

Perhaps Ramananda Chattopadhyay would turn in his grave if saw what some of his disciples in Bengal were busy to do ! Dragging in Ramananda's name, particularly in the field of film journalism, may appear to be a bit bizarre, or an exercise in grotesque but this cannot be helped. Cannot be helped, because true to the tradition of Bengali hypocrisy (with apology to Sasthibrata !) any Bengali journalism boasts and moans a lot over Ramanandaesque journalism before he turns out his masterpiece ! Big or small—this is the rule of the game, and all of them closely observe the rule. In Homer's *Odyssey* while the divine-superhuman hero was out in the cold in Nymph Calypso's tussled out bed in the cave ; the son out to find the long-lost father ; Penelope, the queen and the mother—was circled with almost an army of amorous suitors. Being virtuous, the queen did not have a lot of trouble to keep the suitors out of the way. Now the point is : Penelope was virtuous.



**Sukhen in Achena Athithi (Bengali)**

Unfortunately, for us, during these days Penelope has changed a lot. It is natural. Three thousand years, since the days of the 'wine-dark' seas, have drifted Penelope into a kind of whore ; Athene a helpless goddess ; Artemes wilder than ever ! Penelope, now entertains all her suitors in wild amorous orgies. And Penelope, for being virtuous once upon a time, has been allowed by Almighty Zeus to take any form or shape she likes now !

At present she is in the shape of Bengali film journalism, notably.

When I come to think of all the illegitmate claims of making a socalled great film by Shri Purnendu Patree, and ostensibly backed by the newspaper-intellectuals whom Shri Patree moves around with the air of an Orion—the whole incident takes me back to Penelopian tricks to avoid the suitors. The only difference is that she now behaves like a whore !

Mr. Ashoke Sarkar, the owner of *Anandbazar Patrika* and *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta, darted his arrows at the Film Finance Corporation in a recent Bengal Film Journalists Association function held in Calcutta. He demanded that the name of the Film Finance Corp. be changed to "*Hindi Film Finance Corp*".—because Mr. Sarkar thought, the Finance Corp. never gave any money to the Bengali film-makers ! Mr. Sarkar's group of newssheets almost declared a *jehad* against the FFC as it did not dish out any dough to Shri Patree !

The whole thing is stinking like hell ! Mr. Sarkar the Bengali press baron, is a proof that any nitwit can be an editor now. Mr. Sarkar does not care to know that there are many film-makers in Bengal who had their films financed by the FFC. Among the them are : Satyajit Roy, Mrinal Sen, Ritwik Ghatak, Tapan Sinha, Ajoy Kar, Arundhati Devi, Manju Dey, Chidananda Dasgupta, Utpal Dutta and Arup Guha Thakurata.

Sarkarbabu does not even seem to know that Kanadi, Gujrathi, Marathi, Oriyya and film-makers of other regional languages of India have also received money from the FFC. He does not know that the FFC helps make the Hindi experimental flicks hustling out the intercourse-on-cloth types of Hindi films.

## Repulsive Obsession

Italy's Marco Ferreri shot up as one of the best directors in the world with his "El Cochecito" (Wheelchair). Made in Spain, it had a breezy and funny way of describing a cripple who spent a lot of time on planning and researching with his pals to poison a whole family just because they would not buy him a latest model of engine—driven wheelchair ! It was a wonderful film dealing with the in-depth psychology of the crippled ones, the rich and poor ones, obese and non-obese ones.

Since then Marco has had a lot of films, mostly controversial. All his films have a sort of savage wit; an epic understatement. His latest understatement in the shape and form of *La Grande Bouffe* (the big feed) was picked out by France for the 1973 Cannes Film Festival but it sadly missed the mark. It found a lot of disapointed critics who took *La Grande* for a most 'obscene and revolting' film.

The plot is simple. Four middle-aged men, bored with their lives meet in a rococo joint to literally eat themselves to death. With a decor typical of Sade's 'Sodomy' the picture turns out shots dealing with brest-feedings and fellation between an elderly gent and his middle aged nurse. Most of the characters are preoccupied with sex and food simultaneously. Marco, at no point, explains why his characters choose this particular form of death. Couple of callgirl chicks are shown as forced-fed victims of the characters who finally ran away in disgust The whole thing turned for worst when the angel of death, a blue-eyed school mistress popped on the scene. Ably played by Andrea Ferreol with the body of an overripe melon, the whole scene turned extremely repulsive. She made love to them all and masturbated all of them with one hand and fed with the other! Marco has plainly tried to outrage the sensibility of an average man.

There is a bit of historical support for Marco's story. French historical Jean-Paul Aron writes about similar cases in his book "The Nineteenth Century Eater". A French gastronome, on several occasions, was successful to bump off some of his guests by force-feeding!

Whatever the history is, Marco has certainly oversimplified the whole thing. He is terribly wrong to assume that his film is "a despairing cry over the human condition and its main eating, sexual and excremental functions".

We feel there is more to life than eating, sexing and pissing!

The stars are: Tognazzi, Mastroianni, piccoli and Noiret.

### Byzantine World of Petroleum

Italian director Franseco Rosi has dished out the "Mattei Affair". It is a semi-documentary investigation of the crash in which Mattei died in 1962. To many it was a crash by sabotage caused by a number of enemies from Mafia to American oil tycoons. It is an exercise to limn the style and manners of an international businessman—a complex personality which most of the documentary makers try to avoid.

### From Bangladesh

Nurul Huq lost a friend when Jaihoor Rahaman had disappeared without a trace. Shri Huq had also been behind the bar in Pakistan. Now he is busy making two films, "Joy Parajoy" and "Badnam". The leading roles are by Rajjak and Sabana. Babul Chowdhury, with babita and Ujjwal, is almost half way to put an end to "Apabad". Ibney Mizan and Aziz Mehar direct "Aur Gam Nahi"; life around Sylhet tea plantations. The picture is awaiting release. There is a Danish actress in this film: Lilian. In some of the already released Bangladesh flicks, as grapevine has it, kissing and mooching sequences have received a big welcome and all that...you know!

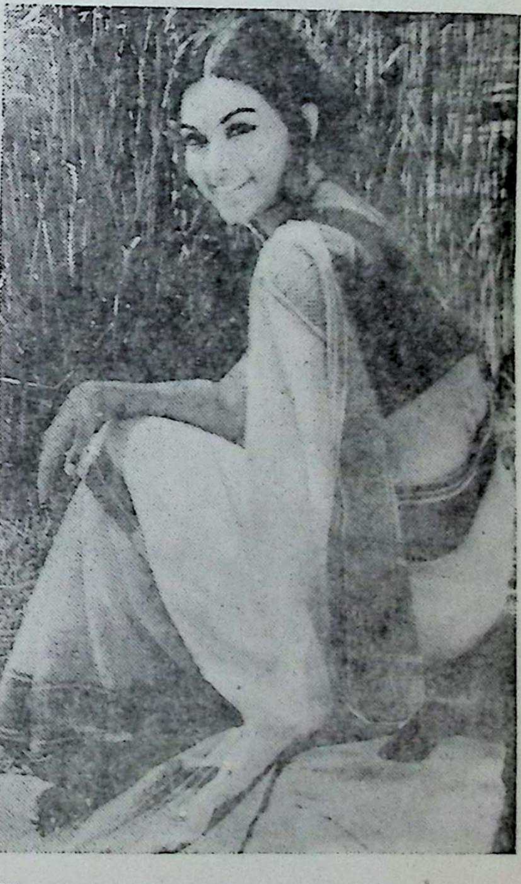
### The Orissa Flash

Directed by Nitai Palit, Amulaya Kumari Patnaik's story "Dharitri" has been released recently. An attempt to study the social malady of a society in which the rich man plays the part of a boss and the poor man suffers—"Dharitri" is a bold venture in the field of social realism. The scenario penned by Shri Gopal Chotroy is powerful. Newcomer Sri Ram Panda has done well besides Sri Dhiru Biswal and Srimati Bhanumati.

"Ghar Behuda", the other Orriya release is below the mark.

### From the Southern Zone

Tooloo is a south Indian language. There have been few pictures in this language also. Out of the



**Circee in an enchanted isle? She is Mallika Sarabhai in Sonal (Hindi)**

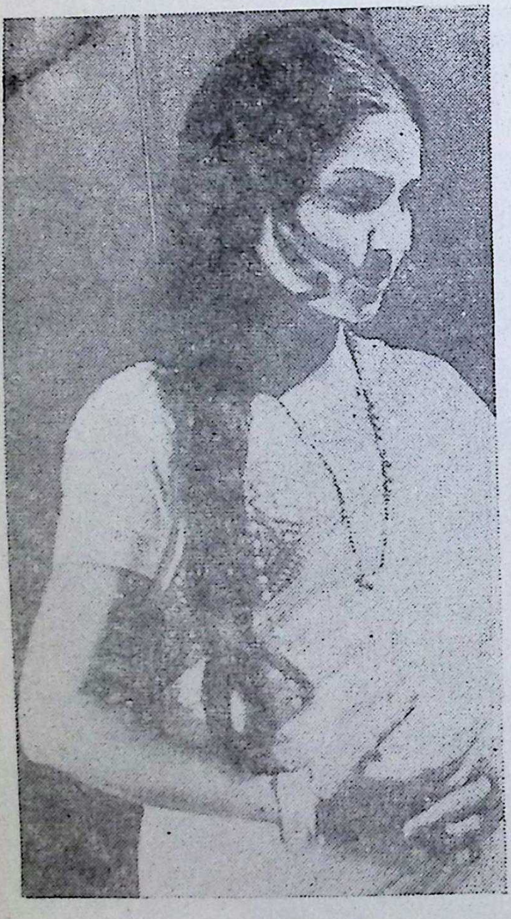
four pictures made in 1972, "Pagetha Pugi" has won the top laurels from a poll carried among the ardent cinegoers...Lilavati, the leading lady of "Dhareda Budedi" has been slated out being the best actress. A Manglorean daily sponsored the event. Prof. S. V. Parameshwar Bhat was the judge.

Malayalam "Mohom" has darted for the floor.

Tamil journalist Sri V. Prakasna has left the fourth estate to switch on to production ! His first attempt "Kolum Mariddi" has already skated over the screen for one hundred days !

### Penderkur Steps into Seventy

Nicknamed "baba" Sri Valji Pendurkar is a pioneer in Hindi and Marathi films. Srimati Sulochana was scouted out by him. In 1948, as result of repercussion on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Baba's studio was burnt to ashes by the mobsters, not only that he was hustled into the prison also. Many of his films received the President awards as well as State awards. On May 2, this gaunt old man of Indian films stepped into seventy and with him the Indian films cross fifty years of travail.



**My God ! Scandal all over ! Baby Naaz is a Swell Chick now ! (In Dost ; Hindi)**

**Jayasree Roy—Still in College—in Achena Athithi (Bengali)**

### Gas Gap

Nothing especial seems be brewing either in Bombay or in Calcutta. Couple of journalists are spinning story about a socalled Naxalite hero who has recently been spaced by a Bombay sheet. Drooping moustache, tall talk, idiotic grin and all that ! And, then the worthless story of Bachan's wedding, Tanuja's wedding with pictures done up in the style of male organs, the grossness and all that goes with it !

# International Films

## Battle for Berlin and Mikhail Ulyanov (USSR)

"Battle for Berlin" and "The Last Assault" the last two parts concluded the epic film on World War II, "Liberation".

Both parts feature the final stage of the War. Apart from battle scenes they show the Yalta conference of the heads of the three governments and other major events of that period. "The concluding two parts", says Mikhail Ulyanov, who plays the part of outstanding Soviet Commander Marshal Georgy Zhukov, "are about the inglorious end of the Third Reich. The film "Liberation" is, in my view, the truest story of World War II, the war waged by nations of Europe against fascism. The film has already had a successful run in many countries of the world. Its every scene shows how inhuman war is, that it should never repeat again."

### Unforgettable Roles

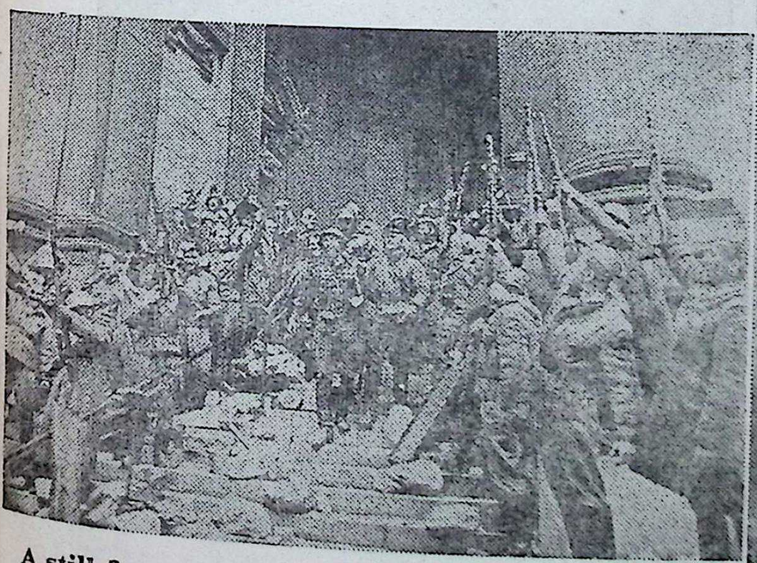
His memorable appearance in the role of the living hero of battles, Masshal Zhukov in the film "Liberation" has been lauded everywhere.

As to the selection of Ulyanov for the role of Marshal Zhukov, and outstanding Soviet military commander, thrice Hero of the Soviet Union, in "Liberation", it may be pointed out that it was Marshal Zhukov himself who after learning about the plans for the production of this film suggested that his part should be played by Mikhail Ulyanov.

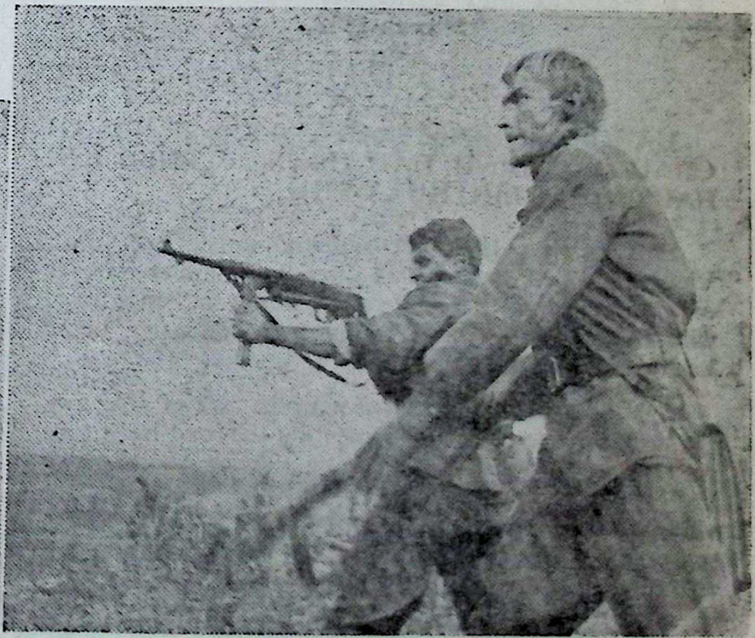
Ulyanov is a leading actor at the Vakhtangov theatre and is very popular, indeed. He was born in the Siberian city of Omsk. Upon finishing school he entered the Shchukin theatrical school at the famous Vakhtangov theatre in Moscow, one of the best schools of this kind. He acted at the Vakhtangov theatre when he was invited to take part in a film production. He brought with him to the cinema the best theatrical traditions.

### Gifted Actor

Ulyanov made his debut in the films with his appearance in "They were the First" in 1956. He soon rose to great heights in the Soviet cine-world. His title role in the film "Chairman" won him the Lenin Prize in 1966. The film depicts the activity of a collected farm headed by Trubnikov, played by Ulyanov. He also possessed the honoured title of People's Artist of the USSR. The characters he acts are usually men of great moral power and courage, able to overcome sufferings, and striving for justice. Ulyanov has a stable reputation as a gifted and profound actor, with his personal pronounced them in art. But this does not mean that his parts are all alike. There are quite opposite images in his record.



**A still from the film "Liberation". The capture of Berlin. An episode at the Reichstag.**



**A still from the film "Liberation". Soviet soldiers : N. Olyalin as Tsvetayev and S. Nikonenko as Sashka.**

An oriental proverb says that every undertaking owes its success to the people it rests on. I prefer to play precisely these parts", stresses Mikhail Ulyanov. "One of my theatre heroes says in a recent film in which I have a role that 'a man becomes cleverer, richer and better when what he is doing is a bit better than himself.' The film is based on a story about a simple, kind man, a militiaman who, in the performance of his duty has to deal with degraded persons. But each time he meets such a person he tries to look into the cause of his downfall and find a way out for him. The film is called "The Very Last Day".

Ulyanov is a very busy man. Rehearsals and performances at the theatre and cinema take all of his time. But still he finds some time for trips which, naturally enrich him as an actor. "India", he says, "has always interested me as a country of ancient and rich culture and so I am happy to come to India. I know the warm relations between the men in culture of the USSR and India keep growing. Indian film makers regularly participate in the international festivals in Tashkant and Moscow. In my view joint production of the film "Afanasy Nikitin" was a success. The film is about a Russian merchant who was among the first to visit India. Indian films are rather frequently shown in the USSR, so I am familiarised with Indian cinema. I would like to make a better acquaintance with my Indian colleagues and see their latest productions.

Ulyanov hopes that their film 'Liberation' will find its way to the hearts of the Indian film-goers. He was eager to know how they would receive his work. He has been offered the part of Marshal Zhukov again in the new film "The Feat of Leningrad" which is being shot at one of the largest studios in the hero-city of Leningrad."

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# *The Road to the Native Village*

**(NORTH VIETNAM)**

**The picture was awarded the First Prize at the 6th International Film Festival in India in March 1973.**

HANOI Feature Film Studio-1971 Scenario : BANH CHAU—BUI DINH HAC Direction : BUI DINH HAC Camera : LUU XUAN THU.

Early spring 1968. A sappers' unit of the South Viet Nam PLAF, led by battalion commander Ha, is ordered to open a secret road leading to Van village, with a view to a forthcoming infantry offensive on a local enemy post.

A 3-man team is entrusted with the task of diverting the enemy's attention and protecting the road by luring American aircraft into bombing a decoy, the Ma Tay Valley. The team is made up of Nui, whose native village is Van itself; Ly, a member of an ethnic minority living in Kontum in the Central Highlands; and Dzu, an intellectual born in a long liberated area.

The team thus live far from their unit under deluges of bombs dropped by B. 52s. But uppermost in their minds is how to destroy enemy strength while protect-

**HUE - The 'nurse of the Sappers' Unit**

**The joy on returning to the native land**

**Nui bidding farewell to his Sweetheart Hue as he leaves on his mission**

ing road through their original combat methods. They are bound together by comradeship and the common revolutionary ideal. Naturally, they also dream and love.

On his way back to the unit for another mission, Nui is buried by a bomb blast and separated from his friends. But he singlehandedly continues the fight and achieves many exploits.

Meanwhile, the sappers have completed the road. Long columns of tanks, lorries and artillery pieces, as well as infantrymen and carriers pass. The battle begins. Van village is liberated following the destruction of the enemy post.

Nui's mother, who comes across a detachment during its hot pursuit of the enemy, meets her son again. It is a moving encounter after such a long separation. And yet, the old woman again urges her son to go to the front with his mates to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the South.

The film was completed on the occasion of the 10th founding anniversary of the Hanoi Feature Film Studio and is the first to depict the sappers of the Liberation Army in the struggle against US aggression, for national liberation. Such characters as Nui, Dzu, Ly and the nurse Hue are truly representative of the vitality of the young generation in Viet Nam.

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On the votes of general cine goers BANGLA CHALACHITRA PURASKAR SAMITY has declared the best Picture, Director, Artist and Technicians of Bengali Films released during the year 1972.

1. Best Picture............CALCUTTA '71

2. Best Story Writer............Sanku Maharaj in BIGALITA KARUNA JANHABI JAMUNA

3. Best Screenplay.....Smt. Arundhati Devi in PADI PISIR BARMI BAKSA.

4. Best Director......Shri Mrinal Sen in CALCUTTA '71

5. Best Music Director......Sudhin Dasgupta in PICNIC

6. Best Actor......Uttamkumar in BIRAJ BOU Subhendu Chatterji in BIGALITA KARUNA JANHABI JAMUNA

7. Best Actress .....Madhabi Chakraborty in BIRAJ BOU

8. Best Supporting Actor......Chinmoy Roy in PADI PISIR BARMI BAKSA

9 Best Supporting Actress......Dipty Roy in ANINDITA Subrata Chatterji in ARCHANA

10. Best Cameraman......Krishna Chakraborty in MEMSAHEB

11. Best Sound...Nripen Paul,
Shyamsundar Ghosh, } Calcutta '71
Himadri Bhattacharya

12. Best Make-up ..Gour Das in JIBON SAIKATEY

13. Best Editor...Gangadhar Naskar in CALCUTTA '71

14. Best Art Director....Banshi Chandragupta in CALCUTTA '71

15. Best Lyric ..Pulak Bandopadhaya in STREE

16. Best Playback ..Male—Hemanta Mukherji in STREE

Female—Lata Mangeskar in ANINDITA

17. Best Publicity Officer...Dhiren Mullick in BIRAJ BOU

# Many sided growth

Murari, a farmer in Uttar Pradesh, applies urea to his field and sprays pesticides on his crops. High in the Himalayas, a road construction team blasts its way along a sheer rock face with high explosives. An automobile worker in Maharashtra spray paints a row of new cars. A belle in Rajasthan dons a multicoloured chunni. A crane operator in Bombay loads crates of fashion garments, made of 'Terene' blended fabrics, packed in polythene, into a ship bound for Hamburg, some 8000 kms away.

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The Indian public has a sizeable shareholding in these companies, which employ 10,000 Indians, including 750 management staff, of whom only 3 are expatriates.

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Induced by confidence in the emerging growth of India's economy and faith in her future, there is a great deal of development activity in the ICI Group.

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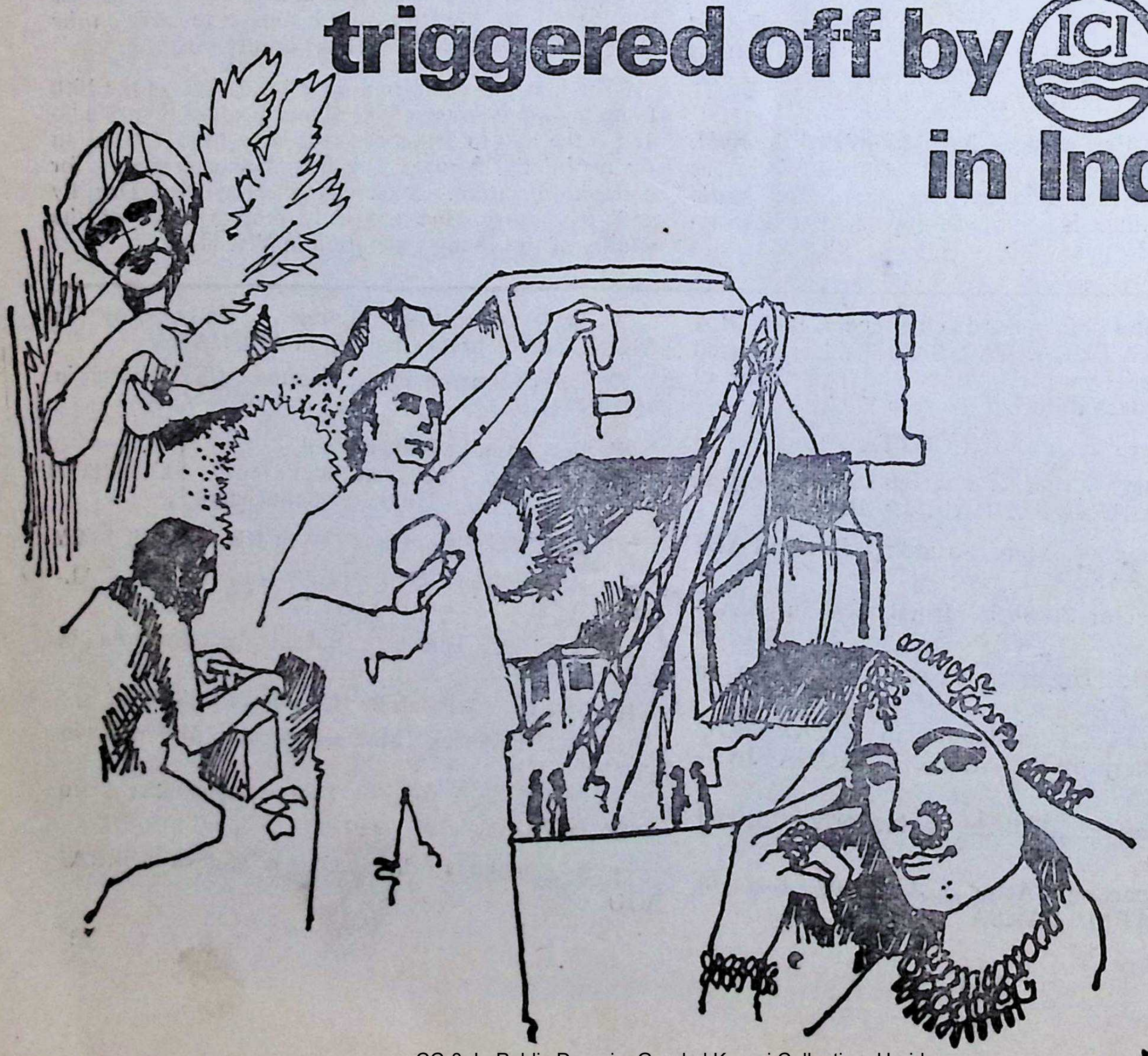

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